



PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

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BY THE ABBÉ RAYNAL.

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B O O K VII.

Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Changes that have happened in this Empire since that revolution.

IT has not been my intention to be the panegyrist of the conquerors of the other hemisphere. I have not suffered my judgment to be so far misled by the brilliancy of their successes, as to be blind to their crimes and acts of injustice. My view is to write history, and I almost always write it with my eyes bathed in tears. Astonishment hath sometimes succeeded grief. I have been surpris'd that none of these savage warriors should have preferred the more certain mode of mildness and humanity, and that they should have rather chosen to shew themselves as tyrants than as benefactors. What strange infatuation

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BOOK VII. hath prevented them from perceiving, that while they destroyed the countries which they seized upon, they were injuring themselves, and that their cruelties obliged them to give up a more quiet and more lucrative possession of them? It hath been asserted, that in countries where man had not yet appeared, the most timid animals came near him without fear. I can never be persuaded, that at the first aspect of an European, the savage man can have been more wild than the animals. It was undoubtedly a fatal experience which informed him of the danger of such familiarity.

WHAT then! shall nations be more cruel among themselves, than the most oppressive sovereigns are towards their subjects? One society must then devour another! Man will be more fierce than the tyger! Shall reason have been given to him merely as a substitute in him to every maleficent instinct; and shall his annals be nothing more than the annals of his perverseness? O God! why didst thou create man? Thou certainly didst know, that for one instant in which thou should'st be able to look upon thy work with complacency, thou should'st turn thine eyes away from it a hundred times? Thy prescience certainly foresaw the atrocious acts which the Spaniards were to commit in the New World!

We are here going to display scenes, still more terrible than those which have so often made us shudder. They will be uninterruptedly repeated in those immense regions which remain for us to go over. The sword will never be blunted; and we shall not see it stop 'till it meets with no more victims to strike.

Extrava-
gances and
cruelties
that mark
the first

We shall again begin our accounts with Columbus. This great man had discovered the continent of America without ever landing upon it. It was not 'till after the island of San Do-
mingo

mirgo was firmly established, that he thought proper to extend his enterprises. He imagined that beyond this continent there was another ocean, which must terminate at the East Indies; and that these two seas might have a communication with each other. In order to discover it, he sailed, in 1502, as close along the coast as possible. He touched at all places that were accessible; and, contrary to the custom of other navigators who behaved in the countries which they visited in such a manner as if they were never to return to them, he treated the inhabitants with a degree of kindness that gained their affection. The gulph of Darien particularly engaged his observation. He thought that the rivers, which poured into it, were the great canal he had been in search of through so many imminent dangers, and excessive fatigues. Disappointed in these expectations, he wished to leave a small colony upon the river Belem, in the country of Veragua. The avidity, the pride, and the barbarism of his countrymen prevented him from having the satisfaction of forming the first European establishment upon the continent of the new hemisphere.

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 Steps of the
 Spaniards
 in South
 America.

SOME years elapsed after this, and still the Spaniards had not fixed themselves upon any spot. As these adventurers only received from government the permission of making discoveries, it never once entered their minds to employ themselves in agriculture or commerce. The prospect of distant fortunes that might have been made by these prudent means, was far above the prejudices of these barbarous times. There was nothing but the allurements of immediate gain that could stimulate men to enterprises so bold as those for which this century was distinguished. Gold alone attracted them to the continent of America, and made them brave dangers, diseases, and death,

BOOK VII which they were exposed to in the course of their voyage, at their arrival, or on their return, and, by a terrible but just vengeance, the cruelty of the Europeans, and their lust of gold, exhausted at once the two hemispheres of their inhabitants, and destruction raged equally among those who were the plunderers and assassins, as among the plundered people

It was not 'till the year 1509 that Ojeda and Niqueffa formed, though separately, the design of making solid and lasting conquests. To encourage them in their resolution, Ferdinand gave to the first the government of the countries that begin at Cape de la Vela, and terminate at the Gulph of Darien, and to the second, that of all the space extending from this famous gulph to Cape Gracias a Dios. They were both of them to announce to the people, at their landing, the tenets of the Christian religion, and to inform them of the gift which the Roman pontiff had made of their country to the king of Spain. If the savages refused to submit quietly to this double yoke, the Spaniards were authorised to pursue them with fire and sword, and to reduce whole nations to slavery.

Is it then the head of the most holy of all religions who gives to another what does not belong to him? And is it a Christian sovereign who accepts of the gift? And are the conditions agreed upon between them, submission to the European monarch, or slavery, baptism, or death? Upon the bare recital of a contract so unheard of, we shudder with horror, and we pronounce, that the man who does not partake of the same sensation, is a stranger to every idea of morality, to every sentiment, and to every notion of justice, a man who is unworthy of being argued with. Abominable pontiff! And if these countries of which

thou dost dispose have a lawful proprietor, is it BOOK
VII
thy advice that he should be spoiled of them? If they have a legitimate sovereign, is it thy advice that his subjects should break their allegiance? If they have Gods, is it thy advice that they should be impious? And thou, stupid prince, dost thou not perceive, that the person who confers these rights upon thee, arrogates them to himself; and that by accepting of them, thou dost abandon thy country, thy sceptre, and thy religion, to the mercy of an ambitious sophist, and of the most dangerous system of Machievalism?

BUT it was a more easy matter to grant these absurd and atrocious privileges, than to put the barbarous and superstitious adventurers, who solicited such rights, in possession of them. The Indians rejected every kind of intercourse with a set of rapacious strangers, who threatened equally their life and their liberty. Arms were not more favourable to the Spaniards than their perfidious caresses. The people of the continent accustomed to carry on war with each other, received them with a boldness unexperienced in the islands that had been so easily subdued. Poisoned arrows were showered upon them from all quarters; and not one of those that were wounded escaped a death more or less dreadful. To the arrows of the enemy other causes of destruction were soon joined; shipwrecks unavoidable in these unknown latitudes; an almost continual want of subsistence upon a country totally uncultivated; and diseases peculiar to this climate, which is the most unwholesome one in America. The few Spaniards who had escaped so many calamities, and who could not return to San Domingo, collected themselves at St. Mary's, in the province of Darien.

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THEY lived there in a state of anarchy, when Vasco Nugnès de Balboa appeared among them. This man, who was honoured by the companions of his crimes with the surname of Hercules, had a robust constitution, and intrepid courage, and a popular eloquence. These qualities made them choose him for their chief; and all his actions proved that he was worthy to command the villains whose suffrage he had obtained. Judging that more gold would be found in the inland parts than upon the coasts, from whence it had been so repeatedly taken, he plunged himself among the mountains. He found at first in the country, it is said, some of that same species of little white men, as are to be met with in Africa and in certain of the Asiatic islands. They are covered with a down of a glistening white colour. They have no hair, their eyes are red, and they only see well in the night-time. They are feeble, and their faculties appear to be more circumscribed than those of other men. These savages, if it be true that they existed, were few in number; but others were found of a different species, brave and hardy enough to defend their rights. They had a very extraordinary custom among them, which was, that the husbands on the death of their wives, and the wives on the death of their husbands, used to cut off the end of a finger; so that merely by looking on their hands one might see whether they were widowers or widows, and how often they had been so.

Nothing has hitherto been, or will probably ever be said, that can satisfactorily explain the various perversions of reason. If the women alone had been obliged to practise this whimsical ceremony, it would be natural to suspect that it had been intended to prevent the imposture of a widow, who might wish to pass for a virgin to her

second

second husband. But this conjecture would lose BOOK
VII.
it's force, when applied to the husbands, whose condition could never be a matter of such consequence, as that it should be carefully indicated by indelible signs. This custom hath obtained in other countries; but the following is peculiar to Darien.

WHEN a widow died, such of her children whose tender age rendered it impossible for them to provide for their own subsistence, were buried in the same grave with her. As no one would take the charge of these orphans, the nation destroyed them, to prevent their being starved to death. The charity of these barbarians extended no further. This is the most atrocious act to which the deplorable state of savage life was ever able to impel mankind.

NOTWITHSTANDING these ferocious manners, Balboa, supported by the obstinacy of his disposition, spurred on by the insatiable cupidity of his soldiers, and with the assistance of some packs of those blood thirsty dogs which had been of so much service to the Spaniards in all their conquests, at length succeeded in destroying the inhabitants of Darien, and in dispersing or subduing them.

ONE day, as the conquerors were disputing with each other about gold, with a degree of warmth that seemed to threaten some act of violence, a young Cacique overturned the scales in which they were weighing it. *Why*, said he to them, with an air of disdain, *why do you quarrel for such a trifle? If it be for this useless metal that you have quitted your country, and that you massacre so many people, I will conduct you into a region where it is so common that it is employed for the meanest purposes.* Being urged to explain himself more clearly, he assured them, that at a little distance The Spaniards acquire the first notion of Peru.
from

BOOK VII from the ocean which washed the country of Darien, there was another ocean which led to this rich country. The opinion immediately and universally prevailed, that this was the sea which Columbus had so earnestly sought after, and on the first of September 1513, one hundred and ninety Spaniards, attended by a thousand Indians, who were to serve them as guides, and to carry their provisions and baggage, set out to reconnoitre it.

FROM the place whence this troop began their march, to the one they were going to, there was no more than sixty miles; but it was necessary to climb so many steep mountains, to pass such large rivers, to traverse such deep morasses, to penetrate into such thick forests, and to disperse, persuade, or destroy, so many fierce nations, that it was not till after a march of five and twenty days, that men accustomed to dangers, fatigues and wants, arrived at the place of their expectation. Without a moment's delay, Balboa, armed at all points, in the manner of the ancient chivalry, advanced some way into the South Sea. *Spectators of both Hemispheres*, exclaimed this barbarian, *I call you to witness that I take possession of this part of the universe for the crown of Castile. My sword shall defend what my arms have given to it.* Already was the cross planted upon the continent, and the name of Ferdinand inscribed upon the bark of some of the trees.

THESE ceremonies gave to the Europeans in those days the dominion of all the countries in the New World, where they could introduce their sanguinary steps. Accordingly, the Spaniards thought they had a right to exact from the neighbouring people a tribute in pearls, metals, and provisions. Every testimony was united in confirming what had been at first said of the riches of the

the empire that was called Peru, and the robbers who meditated the conquest of it, returned to Darien; where they were to collect the forces necessary for so difficult an enterprise.

BALBOA expected that he should be employed to conduct this great design. His companions had placed their confidence in him. He had thrown into the public coffers more treasure than any one of these adventurers. In the opinion of the public, the discovery he had just made, had put him on a level with Columbus. But by an instance of that injustice and ingratitude so common in courts, where merit cannot prevail against favour; where a great commander is superseded in the midst of his triumphs by an unfit person; where a dissipating and rapacious favourite displaces an economical minister of finance; where the general good, and services done are equally forgotten; and where revolutions in the great offices of state often become objects of mirth and pleasantry; Pedrarias was chosen in his stead. The new commander, as jealous as he was cruel, had his predecessor confined; he ordered him to take his trial, and afterwards caused him to be beheaded. His subalterns, by his orders, or with his consent, pillaged, burnt and massacred on all sides, without any distinction of allies or enemies; and it was not till after they had destroyed to the extent of three hundred leagues of the country, that in 1518 he transferred the colony of St. Mary, on the borders of the Pacific ocean, to a place that received the name of Panama.

SOME years passed away without this establishment having been able to fulfil the great and important purposes for which it was destined. At length, three men of obscure birth, undertook, at their own expence, to subvert an empire that had subsisted with glory for several ages.

FRANCIS

Three Spaniards undertake the conquest of Peru without any assistance from government.

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VII.

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FRANCIS PIZARRO, who is the most known among them, was the natural son of a gentleman of Estramadura. His education had been so neglected, that he could not read. The tending of flocks, which was his first employment, not being suitable to his character, he embarked for the New World. His avarice and ambition inspired him with inconceivable activity. He joined in every expedition, and signalized himself in most of them, and he acquired, in the several situations in which he was employed, that knowledge of men and things, which is indispensibly necessary to advancement, but especially to those who by their birth have every difficulty to contend with. The use he had hitherto made of his natural and acquired abilities, persuaded him that nothing was above his talents, and he formed the plan of exerting them against Peru.

To these designs he associated Diego de Almagro, whose birth was equivocal, but whose courage was proved. He had ever been found temperate, patient, and indefatigable, in those camps in which he had grown old. In this school he had acquired a frankness which is more frequently learnt here than in other situations; as well as that obduracy and cruelty which are but too common.

THE fortune of two soldiers, though considerable, being found insufficient for the conquest they meditated, they joined themselves to Fernando de Luques. He was a mercenary priest, who had amassed prodigious wealth by all the methods which superstition renders easy to his profession, and by some means peculiar to the manners of the age he lived in.

As the basis of their association the confederates mutually agreed, that each should engage the whole of his property in this enterprise; that the

wealth

wealth accruing from it should be equally shared, and that they should reciprocally observe an inviolable fidelity. The parts that each of them were to take in this great scene were distributed as the good of the common cause required. Pizarro was to command the troops, Almagro conduct the succours, and Luques prepare the means. This plan of ambition, avarice, and ferociousness, was completed by fanaticism. Luques publicly consecrated a host; part of which he ate, and divided the rest between his two associates; all three swearing, by the blood of God, that, to enrich themselves, they would not spare the blood of man.

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THE expedition, commenced under these horrible auspices, towards the middle of November 1524, with one vessel, one hundred and twelve men, and four horse, was not fortunate. It was seldom that Pizarro was able to land; and in the few places where it was possible for him to come on shore, he met with nothing but plains deluged with water, impenetrable forests, and some savages, little disposed to treat with him. Almagro, who brought him a reinforcement of seventy men, did not meet with more encouraging adventures; and he even lost an eye in a very sharp engagement he was obliged to sustain against the Indians. More than one half of these intrepid Spaniards had perished by hunger, by the sword or by the climate; when Los Rios, who had succeeded to Pedrarias, sent orders to those who had escaped so many calamities, to return to the colony without delay. They all obeyed; all of them, except thirteen, who, insatiable to their chiefs, resolved to follow his fortune to the end. They found it at first more adverse than it had hitherto been; for they were obliged to pass six whole months in the island of Gorgon, the most un-

BOOK VII. wholefome, moft barren, and moft dreadful ſpot there was perhaps upon the globe. But at length their deſtiny grew milder: with a very ſmall veſſel, which had been ſent them merely from motives of compaſſion, to remove them from this place of deſolation, they continued their voyage, and landed at Tumbez, no inconfiderable village of the empire which they propoſed one day to invade. From this road, where every thing bore the marks of civilization, Piſarro returned to Panama, where he arrived at the latter end of the year 1527 with ſome gold duſt, ſome vaſes of that precious metal, ſome vicunas, and three Péruvians, deſtined, ſooner or later, to ſerve as interpreters.

FAR from being diſcouraged by the miſfortunes that had been experienced, the three associates were inflamed with a more ardent paſſion for treaſures which were now better known to them. But they were in want of ſoldiers, and of ſubſiſtence; and the colony denied them both theſe ſuccours. The miniſtry, whoſe ſupport Piſarro himſelf had come into Europe to ſolicit, were more favourably inclined. They authorized, without reſerve, the levying of men, and the purchaſe of provisions; and added to this indefinite liberty every favour which drew nothing from the treaſury.

NEVERTHELESS, the associates, by combining all their means, could not equip more than three ſmall veſſels; nor collect any more than one hundred and forty-four infantry, and thirty-fix horſe. This was very little for the great views that were to be fulfilled, but in the New World the Spaniards expected every thing from their arms and their courage, and Piſarro did not hesitate to embark in the month of February 1531. The knowledge he had acquired of theſe seas, made him avoid the calamities that had thwarted his firſt

expedi-

expedition; and he met with no other misfortune than that of being obliged, by contrary winds, to land at the distance of one hundred leagues from the harbour where he had intended to disembark. The Spaniards were therefore obliged to go to the place by land. They followed the coast with great difficulty, compelling the inhabitants on their march to furnish them with provisions, plundering them of the gold they possessed, and giving themselves up to that spirit of rapine and cruelty which distinguished the manners of those barbarous times. The island of Puna, which defended the road, was taken by storm, and the troops entered victorious into Tumbez, where disorders of every kind detained them for three whole months. The arrival of two reinforcements, that came from Nicaragua, afforded them some consolation for the anxiety they felt on account of this delay. These reinforcements, indeed, consisted only of thirty men each; but they were commanded by Sebastian Benalcazar and by Ferdinand Soto, who had both of them acquired a brilliant reputation. The Spaniards were not disturbed in their first conquest, and we must mention the reason of it.

THE empire of Peru, which, like most other dominions, had in it's origin but little extent, had been successively enlarged. It had in particular received a considerable aggrandizement from the eleventh emperor, Huyana Capac, who had possessed himself by force of the vast territory of Quito, and who, to legitimate, as much as possible his usurpation, had married the sole heiress of the dethroned monarch. From this union, reprobated equally by the laws and by prejudice, Atabalipa was born, who after the death of his father, claimed the inheritance of his mother. This succession was contested by his elder brother

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Manner in which Pizarro, the chief of the expedition, makes himself master of the empire.

BOOK ther Huascar, who was born of another bed, and
VII. whose birth had no stain upon it. Two such powerful interests induced the competitors to take up arms. One of them had the people in his favour, and the custom immemorial of the indivisibility of the empire; but the other had previously secured the best troops. The one who had the troops on his side was conqueror, put his rival in chains, and becoming more powerful than he had expected, was master of all the provinces.

THESE troubles, which for the first time had agitated Peru, were not entirely appeased when the Spaniards appeared there. In the confusion in which the whole kingdom was still involved, no one thought of molesting them on their march, and they arrived without the least obstruction at Caxamalca. Atabalipa, whom particular circumstances had conducted into the neighbourhood of this imperial palace, immediately sent them some fruits, corn, emeralds, and several vases of gold or silver. He did not however conceal from their interpreter his desire that they should quit his territories; and he declared that he would go the next morning to concert with their chief the proper measures for this retreat.

To put himself in readiness for an engagement, without suffering the least preparation of war to be perceived, was the only disposition that Pizarro made for the reception of the prince. He planted his cavalry in the gardens of the palace, where they could not be seen: the infantry was in the court; and his artillery was pointed towards the gate where the emperor was to enter.

ATABALIPA came without suspicion to the place appointed. He was attended by about fifteen thousand men. He was carried on a throne of gold, and gold glittered in the arms of his troops. He turned to the principal officers, and said to them :
These

These strangers are the messengers of the Gods, be careful of offending them. BOOK
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THE procession was now drawing near the palace, which was occupied by Pizarro, when a dominican, named Vincent de Valverde, with a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other, came up to the emperor. He stopped the prince in his march, and made him a long speech, in which he expounded to him the christian religion, pressed him to embrace that form of worship, and proposed to him to submit to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru

THE emperor, who heard him with a great deal of patience, replied, *I am very willing to be the friend of the king of Spain, but not his vassal, the pope must surely be a very extraordinary man, to give so liberally what does not belong to him. I shall not change my religion for another, and if the christians adore a God who died upon a cross, I worship the sun, who never dies.* He then asked Vincent where he had learned all that he had said of God and the creation? *In this book,* replied the monk, presenting at the same time his breviary to the emperor. Atabalipa took the book, examined it on all sides, fell a laughing, and, throwing away the breviary, added, *This book tells me nothing of all this.* Vincent then turned towards the Spaniards, crying out with all his might, *Vengeance, my friends, vengeance! Christians, do you not see how he despises the gospel! Kill these dogs, who tramp'e under foot the law of God.*

THE Spaniards, who probably had with difficulty restrained that fury, and that thirst of blood, which the sight of the gold and of the murders had inspired them with, instantly obeyed the dominican. Let the reader judge of the impressior that must have been made on the Peruvians by the sight of the horses who trampled upon them, and by

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by the noise and effect of the cannon and musketry which beat them down. They fled with such precipitation, that they fell one upon another. A dreadful massacre was made of them. Pizarro himself advanced towards the emperor, made his infantry put to the sword all that surrounded his throne, took the monarch prisoner, and pursued all the rest of the day those who had escaped the sword of his soldiers. A multitude of princes of the race of the Incas, the ministers, the flower of the nobility, all that composed the court of Atabalipa, were massacred. Even the crowd of women, old men, and children, who were come from all parts to see their emperor, were not spared. While this carnage continued, Vincent ceased not to animate the assassins who were tired with slaughter, exhorting them to use not the edge but the point of their swords, to inflict deeper wounds. When the Spaniards returned from this infamous massacre, they passed the night in drunkenness, dancing, and all the excesses of debauchery.

The emperor, though closely guarded, soon discovered the extreme passion of his enemies for gold. This circumstance determined him to offer them for his ransom as much of this metal as his prison, which was two-and-twenty feet in length, and sixteen in breadth, could contain, and to as great a height as the arm of a man could reach. His proposal was accepted. But while those of his ministers, in whom he had most confidence, were employed in collecting what was necessary to enable him to fulfill his engagements, he was informed that Huascar had promised three times as much to some Spaniards who had found an opportunity of conversing with him, if they would consent to reinstate him upon the throne of his ancestors. He was alarmed at this incipient

cient negotiation; and his apprehensions made him resolve to strangle a rival who appeared so dangerous.

IN order to dissipate the suspicions which such an action must necessarily excite in his keepers, Atabalipa urged with fresh zeal the collecting of the metals stipulated for the recovery of his liberty. They were brought in from all sides as fast as the distance of the places, and the confusion that prevailed would allow. The whole would have been completed in a little time; but these heaps of gold, incessantly exposed to the greedy eyes of the conquerors, so inflamed their cupidity, that it was impossible to delay any longer the distribution of them. The fifth part of the whole, which the government had reserved to itself, was delivered to the agents of the treasury. A hundred thousand piastres, or 540,000 livres * were set apart for the body of troops Almagro had just brought up, and which were still upon the coasts. Each of Pizarro's cavalry received 43,200 livres †, and each of his infantry 21,600 ‡. The general, and the officers, had sums proportioned to their rank in the army.

THESE fortunes, the most extraordinary that have ever been recorded in history, did not mitigate the barbarity of the Spaniards. Atabalipa had given his gold, and his name had served to keep the people in subjection. it was now time therefore to put an end to him. Vincent said that he was a hardened prince, who ought to be treated like Pharaoh. The interpreter Philippillo, who had a criminal intercourse with one of his women, might be disturbed in his pleasures. Almagro was apprehensive, that while he was suffered to live, the army of his colleague might be

BOOK VII. desirous of appropriating all the booty to itself as part of the emperor's ransom. Pizarro had been despised by him, because being less informed than the meanest of the soldiers, he knew not how to read. These circumstances, even more perhaps than political reasons, occasioned the emperor's death to be determined upon.

THE Spaniards had the effrontery to bring him to a formal trial; and this atrocious farce was followed with those horrid consequences that must necessarily have been expected from it.

AFTER this judicial assassination, the murderers overran Peru with that thirst of blood and plunder which directed all their actions. Had they shewn some degree of moderation and humanity, they would probably have made themselves masters of this vast empire, without drawing the sword. A people naturally mild, accustomed for a long time past to the most blind submission, ever faithful to the masters it had pleased Heaven to give them, and astonished at the terrible spectacle they had just been beholding: such a nation would have submitted to the yoke without much reluctance. The plundering of their houses, and of their temples, the outrages done to their wives and daughters, cruelties of all kinds succeeding each other without interruption: such a variety of calamities stirred up the people to revenge, and they found commanders to guide their resentment.

NUMEROUS armies at first obtained some advantages, over a small number of tyrants lost in these immense regions; but even these trifling successes were not durable. Several of the adventurers, who had enriched themselves by the ransom of Atabalipa, had quitted their standards, that they might go elsewhere to enjoy, in a more peaceable manner, a property so rapidly acquired. Their

fortune

fortune inflamed the minds of men, in the old, and in the new world, and they hastened from all quarters to this country of gold. The consequence of this was, that the Spaniards multiplied in a less time at Peru, than in the other colonies. They soon amounted to the number of five or six thousand, and then all resistance was at an end. Those of the Indians who were the most attached to their liberty, to their government, and to their religion, took refuge at a distance among inaccessible mountains: Most of them submitted to the conqueror.

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A REVOLUTION so remarkable hath been a subject of astonishment to all nations. Peru is a country very difficult of access, where one must continually climb mountains, and perpetually march in narrow passes and dells. Troops are there obliged to be incessantly passing and repassing torrents or rivers, the banks of which are always steep! Four or five thousand men, with a moderate share of courage and skill, might destroy the best disciplined armies. How then could it possibly happen, that a great nation did not even venture to dispute a territory, the nature of which was so well known to them, against a few plunderers, whom the ocean had just brought to these shores?

THIS event took place for the same reason that an antrepid robber, with the pistol in his hand, spoils with impunity a body of men, who are either quietly resting by their fire sides, or who, shut up in a public carriage, are going along the road without mistrust: Though the robber be alone, and though he may have only one or two pistols to fire, yet he strikes the whole company with awe, because no one chuses to sacrifice himself for the rest. Defence implies a mutual agreement, which is the more slowly formed, as the

BOOK VII. danger is least expected, as the security is more complete, and as it has lasted a longer time. This was exactly the case with the Peruvians: They lived without uneasiness, and without molestation for several centuries. Let us add to these considerations, that fear is the offspring of ignorance and astonishment; that a disorderly multitude cannot stand against a small number of disciplined forces, and that courage unarmed, cannot resist cannon-shot. Accordingly, Peru must necessarily have been subdued, if even the domestic dissensions which then subverted it had not paved the way for it's subjection.

Origin, religion, government, manners, and arts of Peru, at the arrival of the Spaniards. THIS empire, which, according to the Spanish historians, had flourished for four centuries past, had been founded by Manco Capac, and by his wife Mama Ocello, who were called Incas, or Lords of Peru. It has been conjectured, that these two persons might be the descendants of certain navigators of Europe, or the Canaries, who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of Brazil.

To support this conjecture, it has been said, that the Peruvians divided the year, as we do, into three hundred and sixty-five days, and that they had some notion of astronomy; that they were acquainted with the points of the horizon, where the sun sets in the summer and winter solstice, and in the equinoxes; marks, which the Spaniards destroyed, as being monuments of Indian superstition. It has been asserted, that the race of the Incas was whiter than that of the natives of the country, and that several of the royal family had beards; and it is a known fact, that there are certain features, either ill-formed, or regular, that are preserved in some families, though they do not constantly pass from one generation to another. And lastly, it has been said, that it was a tradition generally diffused throughout Peru, and transmitted

ted from age to age, that there would one day arrive by sea, men with beards, and of such superiority in arms, that nothing could resist them.

If there should be any of our readers disposed to adopt so improbable an opinion, they must necessarily allow, that there must have elapsed a considerable space of time between the shipwreck and the foundation of the Peruvian empire. If this be not admitted, we cannot explain why the legislator should not have given the savages, whom he collected together, some notions of writing, though he should not himself have been able to read? Or why he should not have taught them several of our arts and methods of doing things, and instructed them in certain tenets of his religion? Either it was not an European who founded the throne of the Incas, or we must necessarily believe, that the vessel of his ancestors was wrecked on the coast of America, at an æra so remote, that the succeeding generations must have forgotten all the customs of the place from whence they sprang.

THE legislators announced themselves to be children, sent by their father to make men good, and happy. They certainly thought, that this prejudice would inflame the minds of the people whom they meant to civilize, would elevate their courage, and inspire them with greater love for their country, and with more complete submission to the laws.

It was to a set of naked and wandering men, without agriculture, without industry, without any of those moral ideas that are the first ties of society, that their discourses were addressed. Some of these barbarians, who were imitated by others, assembled round the legislators in the mountainous country of Cusco.

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MANCO taught his new subjects to fertilize the earth, to sow corn, and pulse, to wear clothes, and to provide dwelling-places for themselves. Ocello shewed the Indian women how to spin; to weave cotton and wool; and instructed them in all the occupations suitable to their sex, and in all the arts of domestic œconomy.

THE star of fire, which dispels the darkness that covers the earth, which draws the curtain of the night, and suddenly displays to the eyes of astonished man, the most extensive, the most august, and the most pleasing of all scenes; which is saluted at it's rising by the cheerfulness of animals, by the melody of birds, and by the hymn of the being that is endowed with the faculty of thinking; which advances majestically above all their heads; which, in it's progress through the regions of the sky, traverses an immensity of space; which, when it sets, plunges the universe again into silence and melancholy; which distinguishes the seasons and the climates; which collects and dissipates the storms; which lights up the thunder, and extinguishes it; which pours upon the fields the rains that fertilize them, and upon the forests, those that nourish them; which animates every thing by it's warmth, embellishes every thing by it's presence, and the privation of which produces in all parts a state of languor and annihilation; the sun, in a word, was the God of the Peruvians; and indeed what being is there in nature more worthy of the homage of the ignorant man, who is dazzled with it's splendour, or of the grateful man, on whom it's benefits, are lavished? The worship of the sun was accordingly instituted. Temples were built to this deity, and human sacrifices were abolished. The descendants of the legislators were the only priests of the nation.

THE laws pronounced the pain of death against murder, theft, and adultery. Few other crimes were treated with the same severity. Polygamy was prohibited. No one was allowed to have concubines except the emperor, and that because the race of the sun could not be too much multiplied. These concubines were selected from among the virgins consecrated to the temple of Cusco, who were all of his own race.

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A most wise institution enjoined that a young man, who should commit a fault, should be slightly punished; but that his father should be responsible for him. Thus it was that sound morals were always inculcated by a good education.

THERE was no indulgence for idleness, which was considered, with reason, as the source of all crimes. Those, who from age and infirmities were rendered unfit for labour, were maintained at the public charge; but on condition that they should preserve the cultivated lands from the birds. All the citizens were obliged to make their own clothes, to raise their own dwellings, and to fabricate their own instruments of agriculture. Every separate family knew how to supply its own wants.

THE Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumstance induced them to it. Those common labours, which were always enlivened by agreeable songs; the object itself of these labours, which was to assist every one who had occasion for succour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worship of the sun, and distributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged, and to orphans; that union which must necessarily reign in the centuries, where every one was mutually inspired with respect for the laws, and with the love of virtue, because the

punish-

B O O K
VII } punishments, that were inflicted for the faults of one individual fell on the whole body, that custom of regarding each other as members of one single family, which was the empire, all these circumstances united, maintained among the Peruvians concord, benevolence, patriotism, and a certain public spirit; and contributed, as much as possible, to substitute the most sublime and amiable virtues, in lieu of personal interest, of the spirit of property, and of the usual incentives employed by other legislators

THESE virtues were rewarded with marks of distinction, as much as if they had been services rendered to the country. Those who had signalized themselves by an exemplary conduct, or by any distinguished actions of advantage to the public good, wore, as a mark of ornament, clothes wrought by the family of the Incas: It is very probable that those statues, which the Spaniards pretended that they found in the temples of the sun, and which they took for idols, were the statues of men, who, by the greatness of their talents, or by a life replete with illustrious actions, had merited the homage or love of their fellow-citizens.

THESE great men were also usually the subjects of poems composed by the family of the Incas for the instruction of the people.

THERE was another species of poetry conducive to morality. At Cusco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were performed. The first were lessons of duty to the priests, warriors, judges, and persons of distinction, and represented to them models of public virtue. Comedies served for instruction to persons of inferior rank, and taught them the exercise of private virtues, and even of domestic economy.

THE whole state was distributed into decuries, with an officer that was appointed to superintend ten families that were intrusted to him: A superior officer had the same inspection over fifty families; others over a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand.

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THE decuries, and the other superintending officers, up to the superintendant of a thousand, were obliged to give an account to the latter of all actions whether good or bad, to solicit punishments and rewards for each, and to give information if there were any want of provisions, clothes, or corn, for the year. The superintendant of a thousand made his report to the minister of the Inca.

He had seldom any cause of complaint against the part of the nation intrusted to his care. In a country, where all the laws were thought to be prescribed by the sun, and where the least infringement of them was considered as a sacrilege, these transgressions must have been very uncommon. When such a misfortune happened, the guilty persons went of their own accord to reveal their most secret faults, and to solicit permission to expiate them. These people told the Spaniards, that there never had been one man of the family of the Incas who had deserved punishment.

THE lands of the kingdom, that were susceptible of cultivation, were divided into three parts, one appropriated to the sun, another to the Inca, and a third to the people. The first were cultivated in common, as were likewise the lands of orphans, of widows, of old men, of the infirm, and of the soldiers who were with the army. These were cultivated immediately after the lands appropriated to the sun, and before those of the emperor. The season of this labour was announced by festivals: it was begun and continued with the

found

BOOK found of musical instruments, and the chanting of
 VII. hymns.

THE emperor levied no tribute; and exacted nothing from his subjects, but that they should cultivate his lands; the whole produce of which, being deposited in public magazines, was sufficient to defray all the expences of the empire.

THE lands dedicated to the sun provided for the maintenance of the priests; the support of the temples, and of every thing that concerned public worship. They were partly cultivated by princes of the royal family, clad in their richest habits.

WITH regard to the lands that were in the possession of individuals, they were neither hereditary; nor even estates for life: the division of them was continually varying, and was regulated with strict equity according to the number of persons which composed every family. There was no other wealth but what arose from the produce of the fields, the temporary enjoyment of which was all that was granted by the state.

THIS custom of moveable possessions has been universally censured by men of understanding. It has been their general opinion, that a nation would never rise to any degree of power or greatness, but by fixed, and even hereditary property. If it were not for the first of these, we should see on the globe only wandering and naked savages, miserably subsisting on such fruits and vegetables as are the sole and scanty production of rude nature. If it were not for the second; every individual would live only for himself; mankind would be deprived of every permanent advantage, which paternal affection, the love of a family name, and the inexpressible delight we feel in acting for the good of posterity urge us to pursue. The system of some bold speculators, who have regarded

regarded property, and particularly that species BOOK
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of it which is hereditary, as an usurpation of some members of society over others, is refuted by the fate of all those institutions in which their principles have been reduced to practice. These states have all fallen to ruin, after having languished for some time in a state of depopulation and anarchy.

If Peru hath not shared the same fate, it is probably because the Incas, not knowing the use of imposts, and having only commodities in kind to supply the necessities of government, must have been obliged to study how to multiply them. They were assisted in the execution of this project by their ministers, by inferior officers, and by the soldiers themselves, who received nothing but the fruits of the earth for their subsistence and the support of their rank. Hence arose a continual solicitude to increase these productions. This attention might have for it's principal object the introduction of plenty into the lands of the sovereign; but his patrimony was so mixed and confounded with that of his subjects, that it was not possible to fertilize the one without fertilizing the other. The people, encouraged by these advantages, which left little scope to their industry, applied themselves to labours, which the nature of their soil, of their climate, and of their consumptions, rendered very easy. But notwithstanding all these advantages; notwithstanding the ever active vigilance of the magistrate; notwithstanding the certainty that their harvests would never be ravaged by a turbulent neighbour; the Peruvians never enjoyed any thing more than the mere necessities of life. We may venture to assert, that they would have acquired the means of diversifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the
intro-

BOOK introduction of rented, transferable, and hereditary property.
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THE Peruvians, though at the very source of gold and silver, knew not the use of coin. They had not, properly speaking, any kind of commerce; and the more minute arts, which owe their existence to the immediate wants of social life, were in a very imperfect state among them. All their science consisted in memory, all their industry in example. They learnt their religion and their history by hymns, and their duties and professions by labour and imitation.

THEIR legislation was undoubtedly very imperfect and limited; since it supposed the prince always just and infallible, and the magistrates possessed of as much integrity as the prince; since not only the monarch, but his deputies, a superintendant of ten, of a hundred, or of a thousand, might change at pleasure the destination of punishments and rewards. Among such a people, deprived of the inestimable advantage of writing, the wisest laws, being destitute of every principle of stability, must insensibly be corrupted, without there being any method of restoring them to their primitive character.

THE counterpoise of these dangers was found in their absolute ignorance of gold and silver coin; an ignorance which, in a Peruvian despot, rendered the fatal passion of amassing riches impossible. It was found in the constitution of the empire, which had fixed the amount of the sovereign's revenue, by settling the portion of lands that belonged to him. It was found in the extremely small number and moderate nature of the wants of the people, which, being easily gratified, rendered them happy and attached to the government. It was found in the influence of their religious opinions,

opinions, which made the observation of their laws a matter of conscience. Thus was the despotism of the Incas founded on a mutual confidence between the sovereign and the people; a confidence, which resulted from the beneficence of the prince; from the constant protection he granted to all his subjects, and from the evident interest they had to continue in obedience to him.

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A SPIRIT of pyrrhonism, which hath succeeded to a blind credulity, and hath been sometimes carried to unjustifiable lengths, hath for some time endeavoured to raise objections to what has been just related of the laws, manners, and happiness, of ancient Peru. This account hath appeared to some philosophers as chimerical, and formed only by the naturally romantic imagination of a few Spaniards. But among the destroyers of this distinguished part of the New World, was there a single ruffian sufficiently enlightened to invent a fable so consistent in all it's parts? Was there any one among them humane enough to wish to do it, had he even been equal to the task? Would he not rather have been restrained by the fear of increasing that hatred, which so many cruelties had brought on his country throughout the whole world? Would not the fable have been contradicted by a multitude of witnesses, who would have seen the contrary of what was published with so much pomp? The unanimous testimony of cotemporary writers, and of their immediate successors, ought to be regarded as the strongest historical demonstration that can possibly be desired.

LET us therefore no longer consider, as the offspring of a wild imagination, this account of a succession of wise sovereigns, and of a series of generations among mankind existing without reproach.

BOOK VII them in carrying or dragging the most bulky materials, and who were ignorant of the use of leavers and pulleys, could not possibly execute any greater designs.

We must consider as fabulous the history of those aqueducts and reservoirs that are said to have been comparable to the most magnificent monuments of the same kind transmitted to us from the ancients. Necessity had taught the Peruvians to dig trenches round the mountains, and upon the slopes of hills, and canals and ditches in the valleys, in order to make their lands fruitful which were not fertilized by the rains, and to bring water for their own use, when they had never thought of constructing wells for this purpose but these works of earth or dry stone had nothing remarkable in them; nothing that could imply the slightest knowledge of hydraulics.

We must also consider as fabulous the display of those superb roads which rendered communication so easy. The great roads of Peru were nothing more than two rows of stakes disposed in a line, and intended for no other purpose but to point out the way to travellers. There was no road of any consequence, except that which bore the name of the Incas, and which traversed the whole empire. This, which was the most beautiful monument of Peru, was entirely destroyed during the civil wars of the conquerors.

We must also consider as fabulous what has been said of those bridges which are so much boasted of. How could the Peruvians, who were ignorant of the method of constructing arches, and knew not the use of lime, raise stone bridges? It is certain, however, that the traveller was continually stopped in his passage by a great number of torrents he met with among these regions. To overcome this great obstacle, it was contrived to put

put together seven or eight cables, or even a greater number made of osier, to fasten them with other smaller cords, to cover them with the branches of trees, and with earth, and to fix them strongly to the opposite banks. Rivers that were larger and less rapid, were crossed in small sailing boats which tacked about with celerity.

We must also consider as fabulous, the wonders related of the *quipos*, which were, among the Peruvians, a substitute to the art of writing that was unknown to them. These were, as it hath been said, registers made of cords, in which different kinds of knots and various colours, pointed out the facts, the remembrance of which it was either important or agreeable to preserve, these records were kept by depositaries of confidence appointed by public authority. It might perhaps be rash in us to affirm, that these kinds of hieroglyphics, of which we have never had any but obscure descriptions, could not possibly throw any light upon past events. But, when we observe the many errors that insinuate themselves into our histories, notwithstanding the great facility of avoiding them, we shall scarce be inclined to think, that annals of so singular a nature as those we have been mentioning, could ever merit much confidence.

THE Spaniards do not deserve more credit, when they tell us of those baths that were made of silver and gold, as well as the pipes that supplied them, of those gardens full of trees, the flowers of which were of silver and the fruit of gold, and where the eye, being deceived, mistook art for nature, of those fields of maize, the stems of which were of silver, and the ears of gold, of those basso-relievs, in which the herbs and plants were so admirably exhibited, that whoever saw was tempted to gather them, of those

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proach. Let us rather deplore the fate of these people, and not envy them the sad remembrance of this honour. It is enough to have deprived them of the advantages which they enjoyed, without adding the baseness of calumny to the meanness of avarice, the outrages of ambition, and the rage of fanaticism. It is to be wished that this beautiful æra may be renewed, sooner or later, in some quarter of the globe.

We shall not justify with the same confidence those accounts, which the conquerors of Peru published concerning the grandeur and magnificence of the monuments of all kinds that they had found there. The desire of adding greater lustre to the glory of their triumphs might possibly mislead them. Perhaps, without being convinced themselves, they studied to impose on their own country and on foreign nations. The first testimonies, and those even were contradictory, have been invalidated by succeeding accounts, and at length totally destroyed, when men of enlightened understandings had visited this celebrated part of the new hemisphere.

We must, therefore, consider as fabulous the report of that prodigious multitude of towns built with so much labour and expence. If there were so many superb cities in Peru, why do none exist except Cusco and Quito, beside those the conqueror built? Whence comes it that we scarce find any where, except in the vallies of Capillas and of Pachacamac, the ruins of those of which such exaggerated descriptions have been published? The people must therefore have been dispersed over the country; and indeed it was impossible it should have been otherwise in a region where there were neither tenants, nor artists, nor merchants, nor great proprietors, and where tillage

tillage was the sole or the principal occupation of BOOK
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all men.

We must consider as fabulous the account of those majestic palaces, destined for the accommodation of the Incas, in the place of their residence and on their travels. As far as it is possible to judge through those heaps of ruins which have been stirred up such an infinite number of times by the hand of avarice, in expectation of finding treasures among them, the royal mansions had neither majesty nor ornament. They differed only, in extent and thickness from the ordinary buildings, which were constructed with reeds, with wood, with compacted earth, and with rough stones without any cement, according to the nature of the climate, or the vicinity of the materials.

We must consider as fabulous the relation of those fortified places which defended the frontiers of the empire. There were undoubtedly some of these. The Lower Peru still presents us with the ruins of two of them situated upon mountains, the one constructed with earth, the other with the trunks of trees. It is supposed that they were furnished with ditches, and with three walls, one commanding the other. This was sufficient to contain the conquered people, and to check the incursions of neighbours that were not very formidable. But these means of defence could be of no avail against the valour and the arms of the Europeans. Neither were the fortresses of the Upper Peru, though built of stone, better calculated for this purpose. M. de la Condamine, who visited, with that scrupulous attention that distinguished him, the fort of Cannar, which is the best preserved, and the most considerable after that of Cusco, found it to be of very small extent, and only ten feet high. A people who had nothing but their arms to assist them

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dresses covered over with grains of gold more delicate than the seed of pearl, and the workmanship of which the ablest artists of Europe could not have equalled. We shall not say, that these works were not worthy to be preserved, because they never have been. If the Greek statuaries in their compositions had only employed precious metals, it is probable that few of the capital productions of Greece would have reached us. But, if we may judge of what hath perished by what still remains, we may be certain that the Peruvians had made no progress in drawing. The vases, which have escaped the ravages of time, may serve as a signal proof of the patience of the Indians; but they will never be considered as monuments of their genius. Some figures of animals, and of insects, in massive gold, which were long preserved in the treasury of Quito, were not more perfect. We cannot any longer judge of them; for they were melted down in 1740, in order to furnish succours for Carthagena, that was then besieged by the English; and there was not found in all Peru a Spaniard curious enough to purchase a single piece at the bare weight.

From what hath been said, it appears clearly, that the Peruvians had made scarce any advances in the abstract sciences. Most of them depend on the progress of the arts, and these again on accidents which nature produces only in a course of several centuries; and of which the greatest part are lost among people who have no intercourse with enlightened nations.

If we reduce all these accounts to the simple truth, we shall find that the Peruvians had arrived at the art of fusing gold and silver, and of working them. With these metals they made ornaments, most of which were very thin, for the arms, for the neck, for the nose, and for the ears; and hollow statues,

statues, all of one piece, which, whether they were carved or cast in a mould, had no greater degree of thickness. Vases were seldom made of these rich materials. Their ordinary vases were of very fine clay, easily wrought, and of the size and figure adapted to the purposes for which they were destined. Weights were not unknown among them, and scales are discovered from time to time, the basons of which are of silver, and which are in the shape of an inverted cone. Two kinds of stone were used as looking-glasses; the one was soft, the other hard; one was entirely opaque, the other had a small degree of transparency; one was black, the other of a lead colour: it had been contrived to give them a sufficient polish to reflect objects. Wool, cotton, and the barks of trees, were woven by these people into a cloth more or less compact, and more or less coarse, which was used for wearing-apparel, and of which household furniture was even made. These stuffs, and cloths, were dyed black, blue; and red, by means of the arnuto, by different plants, and by a kind of wild bean that grows in the mountains. Their emeralds were cut in all sorts of forms. Those that have been often taken out of the tombs, most of which are in elevated situations, where citizens of distinction were buried with whatever they possessed that was rare, prove that these precious stones were more perfect here than they have been found to be any where else. Sometimes, by fortunate chance, pieces of workmanship are discovered in red and yellow copper, and others which partake of both colours; from whence it hath been concluded, that the Peruvians were acquainted with the art of mixing metals. One more important matter is, that this copper never rusts, and never collects any verdigrease; which seems to prove, that the Indians mixed something in the preparing of it,

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BOOK VII which had the property of preserving it from these fatal inconveniences. It is to be regretted that the useful art of tempering it in this manner has been lost, either from want of encouraging the natives of the country, or from the contempt which the conquerors had for every thing that had no concern with their passion for riches.

BUT with what instruments were these works executed, among a people who were unacquainted with iron, which is looked upon with reason as the foundation of all the arts? Nothing has been preserved in the private houses, nor hath any thing been discovered among the public monuments, or in the tombs, which can give information sufficient to solve this problem. Perhaps the hammers and mallets that were used, were made of some substance that time may have either destroyed or disfigured. If we will not admit of this conjecture, we must conclude, that all the workmanship was executed with those hatchets of copper, which also served the people for arms in battle. In this case, labour, time, and patience, must have supplied among the Peruvians the deficiency of tools.

It was also, perhaps, with hatchets of copper or flint, and by incessant friction, that they contrived to cut stones, to square them, to make them answer to each other, to give them the same height, and to join them without cement. Unfortunately these instruments had not the same effect on wood, as they had upon stone. Thus it happened that the same men who shaped the granite, and who drilled the emerald, never knew how to join timber by mortises, tenons, and pins; it was fastened to the walls only by rusties. The most remarkable buildings had only a covering of thatch, supported by poles, like the tents of our armies. They had but one floor, and no light except by the

the entrance, and they consisted only of detached B O O K
apartments, that had no communication with each VII.
other.

BUT whatever were the arts which the Spaniards found in the country of Peru, these Barbarians were no sooner masters of this vast empire, than they disputed the spoils of it with all the rage which their first exploits announced. The seeds of these divisions had been sown by Pizarro himself, who, when he went into Europe to prepare for a second expedition into the South Seas, had prevailed upon the ministry to give him a great superiority over Almagro. The sacrifice of what he had obtained from a temporary favour, had contributed to reconcile him with his colleague, who had been justly incensed at this perfidy; but the division of Atabalipa's ransom irritated again these two haughty and rapacious robbers. A dispute, which arose concerning the limits of their respective governments, completed their animosity, and this extreme hatred was attended with the most deplorable consequences.

CIVIL wars usually originate in tyranny and anarchy. In a state of anarchy the people divide themselves into small parties. Each petty faction hath it's demagogue; each hath it's pretensions, be they wise or extravagant, unanimous or contradictory, without their being known. A number of confused clamours arise. The first stroke is followed by a thousand others; and the people destroy each other without listening to reason. Private interests and personal animosities prolong the duration of the public troubles; and men do not come to explanations till after they are tired with carnage. Under the influence of tyranny, there are scarce ever more than three parties, that of the court, that of the opposition, and that of indifferent persons; these are indeed luke-warm citizens,

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zens, but sometimes of great service by their impartiality, and by the ridicule they cast upon the other two parties. In a state of anarchy, when tranquillity is restored, the life of every individual is safe, under that of tyranny, tranquillity is followed by the death of several individuals, or of one only.

THOUGH the interests which divided the chiefs of the Spaniards were not of such importance, yet their effects were equally terrible. After some negotiations, dishonest at least on one part, and consequently useless, recourse was had to the sword, in order to determine which of the two competitors should govern the whole of Peru. On the 6th of April, 1538, in the plains of Salinas, not far from Cusco, fate decided against Almagro, who was taken prisoner and beheaded.

Those of his partisans who had escaped the carnage, would willingly have reconciled themselves with the conquering party. But whether Pizarro did not choose to trust the soldiers of his rival, or whether he could not overcome a resentment that was too deeply rooted, it is certain that he always shewed a remarkable aversion for them. They were not only excluded from all the favours that were profusely lavished upon the acquisition of a great empire, but they were also stripped of the rewards formerly granted for their services, they were persecuted, and exposed to continual mortifications.

This treatment brought a great number of them to Lima. There, in the house of the son of their general, they concerted in silence the destruction of their oppressor. Nineteen of the most intrepid went out, sword in hand, on the 26th of June, 1541, in the middle of the day, which in hot countries is the time devoted to rest. They penetrated, without opposition, into the palace of Pizarro,

Pizarro, and the conqueror of so many vast king-
doms was quietly massacred in the center of a
town that he had founded, and the inhabitants
of which were composed of his creatures, his ser-
vants, his relations, his friends, or his soldiers

Those who were judged most likely to revenge
his death, were murdered after him the fury of the
assassins spread itself, and every one who ventured
to appear in the streets and in the squares was re-
garded as an enemy, and put to the sword Instant-
ly the houses and temples were filled with slaughter,
and presented nothing but mangled carcases The
spirit of avarice, which induced them to consider
the rich merely as partisans of the old government,
was still more furious than that of hatred, and ren-
dered it more active, more suspicious, and more
implacable. The representation of a place taken
by assault by a barbarous nation, would communi-
cate but an imperfect idea of that spectacle of hor-
ror which these ruffians now exhibited, who wrest-
ed from their accomplices the booty of which they
had frustrated them.

This cruel massacre was followed by enormities
of another kind The soul of young Almagro
seems to have been formed for tyranny Every
one who had been in employment under the ad-
versary of his family was inhumanly proscribed
The ancient magistrates were deposed. The troops
were put under the command of new officers
The royal treasury, and the wealth of those who
perished or were absent, were seized upon by the
usurper His accomplices, attached to his for-
tune by being partakers of his crimes, were forced
to give their support to undertakings which filled
them with horror Those among them who suf-
fered their uneasiness at these proceedings to
transpire, were either put to death in private,
or perished on a scaffold During the confusion,

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in which a revolution so unexpected had plunged Peru, several provinces submitted to this monster, who caused himself to be proclaimed governor in the capital; and he marched into the heart of the empire, to complete the reduction of every place that opposed, or hesitated to acknowledge him.

A MULTITUDE of russians joined him on his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his troops, the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had lost his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the snares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvares, who had put himself at the head of the opposite party. He lost, in attempting to unravel his rival's plots, that time which he ought to have employed in fighting. In these circumstances, an event, which no one could have foreseen, happened to change the face of affairs.

THE licentiate Vasco di Castro, who had been sent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was appointed to assume the government in case Pizarro was no more, all who had not sold themselves to the tyrant, hastened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealousy, which had for too long a time kept them dispersed, were no longer an obstacle to their reunion. Castro, who was as resolute as if he had grown old in the service, did not suffer their impudence to languish, but instantly led them against the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th of September 1542, and fought with inexpressible obstinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the close of the day decided in favour of the government party.

party. Those among the rebels who were most guilty, dreading to languish under disgraceful tortures, provoked the conquerors to murder them, crying out, like men in despair, *It was I who killed Pizarro*. Their chief was taken prisoner, and died on the scaffold.

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THESE scenes of horror were just concluded, when Blasco Nunez Vela arrived in 1544 at Peru, with the title and powers of viceroy. The court had thought to invest their representative with a solemn dignity and with very extensive authority, in order that the decrees he was commissioned to establish, should meet with less opposition. These decrees were intended to lessen the oppression under which the Indians were sunk, and more particularly to render these immense conquests useful to the crown: let us examine whether they were judiciously contrived for this purpose.

THEY declared that some of the Peruvians should be free from that moment, and the rest at the death of their oppressors; that for the future they should not be compelled to bury themselves in the mines; and that no kind of labour should be exacted from them without payment; that their public labours and tributes should be regulated, that the Spaniards who travelled through the provinces on foot, should no longer have three of these wretched people to carry their baggage, nor five when they went on horseback: that the Caciques should be freed from the obligation of providing the traveller and his suite with food.

By the same regulations, all the departments or commanderies of the governors, of the officers of justice, of the agents of the treasury, of the bishops, of the monasteries, of the hospitals, and of all persons who had been concerned in the public

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public troubles, were to be annexed to the domains of the state. The few lands that might belong to other proprietors, were to be subject to the same law, after the present possessors had ended their days, let their life be long or short, and their heirs, their wives, or their children were to have no claim upon any part of them.

BEFORE so great a revolution had been attempted, would it not have been more proper to have softened the ferocious manners of these people, to have gradually bent to the yoke, men who had always lived in a state of independence, to have brought back to principles of equity injustice itself, to have connected to the general interest those who had been hitherto influenced by private interests only, to have made citizens of adventurers, who had, as it were, forgotten the country from whence they sprang, to have established properties where the law of the strongest had before universally prevailed, to have made order arise from the midst of confusion, and, by a striking contrast to the evils which had just been occasioned by anarchy, to have conciliated attachment and reverence to a well regulated government? But without any of these preliminary steps, how could the court of Madrid expect suddenly to attain the end they proposed?

EVEN supposing the matter public, did they employ a proper agent to effect it? At any rate, it would have been a work of patience, and of a conciliatory disposition which would have required all the talents of the most consummate negotiator. Did Nunnez possess any of these advantages? Nature had only given him integrity, courage and firmness, and he had added nothing to her gifts. With these virtues, which were almost defects in his situation, he began to fulfil his commission, without any regard to place, to persons,

sons, or to circumstances. To the astonishment with which the people were at first seized, succeeded indignation, murmurs and sedition.

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Civil wars assume the character that distinguishes the causes from whence they spring. When an abhorrence of tyranny and the natural love of liberty stimulate a brave people to take up arms; if they prove victorious, the tranquillity that follows this transitory calamity is an æra of the greatest happiness. The vigour, which hath been excited in the soul of every individual, manifests itself in his manners. The small number of citizens who have been witnesses and instruments of such troubles, possess more moral strength than the most populous nations. Abilities and power are united; and every man is astonished to find that he occupies that very place which nature had marked out for him.

But when dissensions proceed from a corrupt source; when slaves fight about the choice of a tyrant; when the ambitious contend in order to oppress, and robbers quarrel for the sake of spoil; the peace which terminates these horrors is scarcely preferable to the war which gave them birth. Criminals assume the place of the judges who had disgraced them, and become the oracles of those laws which they had insulted. Men ruined by their extravagances and debaucheries; insult, with an overbearing pomp; those virtuous citizens whose patrimony they have invaded. In this state of utter confusion, the passions only are attended to. Avarice seeks to grow rich without any trouble, vengeance to gratify its resentments without fear, licentiousness to throw off every restraint, and discontent to occasion a total subversion of affairs. The phrenzy of carnage is succeeded by that of debauchery. The sacred bed of innocence or of marriage is polluted with blood,

BOOK blood, adultery, and brutal violence The fury
VII of the multitude rejoices in destroying every thing
 it cannot enjoy, and thus in a few hours perish the
 monuments of many centuries

If fatigue, an entire lassitude, or some fortunate accidents, suspend these calamities, the habit of wickedness and murder, and the contempt of laws, which necessarily subsists after so much confusion, is a leaven ever ready to ferment Generals who no longer have any command, licentious soldiers without pay, and the people fond of novelty in hopes of changing their state for a better, this situation of things, and these means of confusion, are always in readiness for the first factious person who knows how to avail himself of them

SUCH was the disposition of the Spaniards in Peru, when Nunnez attempted to carry into execution the orders he had received from the old hemisphere He was immediately degraded, put in irons, and banished to a desert island, where he was to remain till he was conveyed to the mother-country

GONZALES PIZARRO was then returned from a hazardous expedition, which had carried him as far as the river of the Amazons, and had employed him long enough to prevent him from taking a part in those revolutions which had so rapidly succeeded each other The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, inspired him with the idea of seizing the supreme authority His fame and his forces made it impossible that this should be refused him, but his usurpation was marked with so many enormities, that Nunnez was regretted He was recalled from exile, and soon collected a sufficient number of forces to enable him to take the field Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury by both parties. No quarter was asked or given on either side. The Indians were forced to take part in this, as they

they had done in the preceding wars; some ranged themselves under the standard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. They dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, and carried the baggage. After a variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito, in the month of January, in the year 1545. Nunnez and the greatest part of his men were massacred on that day.

PIZARRO took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they should receive him. Some officers wished that a canopy should be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation still more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even some houses, must be pulled down, as was the custom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himself with making his entrance on horseback, preceded by his lieutenants, who marched on foot. Four bishops accompanied him, and he was followed by the magistrates. The streets were strewn with flowers, and the air resounded with the noise of bells and various musical instruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He spoke and acted in the most despotic manner.

HAD Gonzales possessed judgment and the appearance of moderation, it would have been possible for him to render himself independent. The principal persons of his party wished it. The majority would have viewed this event with indifference, and the rest would have been obliged to consent to it. Blind cruelties, insatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered these dispositions. Even the persons whose interests were more con-

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most of them adventurers without education and of mean birth. Avarice, which had brought them into the New World, was joined to other passions which render domestic dissensions so lasting and so violent. All of them, without exception, considered the chief whom they had chosen merely as a partner in their fortune, whose influence was only to extend to the guidance of their hostilities. None of them accepted any pay. As plunder and confiscation were to be the fruits of victory, no quarter was ever given in action. After the engagement was over, every rich man was exposed to informations; and there were nearly as many citizens who perished by the hands of the executioner, as by those of the soldiers in battle. The gold that had been acquired by such enormities, was soon exhausted by the meanest kind of intemperance, and the most extravagant luxury; and the people returned again to all the excesses of military licence that knows no restraint.

FORTUNATELY for this opulent part of the new hemisphere, the most seditious of the conquerors, and of those who followed their steps, had perished miserably in the several events that had so frequently subverted it. Few of them had survived the troubles, except those who had constantly preferred peaceable occupations to the tumult and dangers of great revolutions. What still remained of that commotion that had been raised in their minds insensibly sank into a calm, like the agitation of waves after a long and furious tempest. Then, and then only, the Catholic kings might with truth stile themselves the sovereigns of the Spaniards fixed in Peru. But there was one liege still remaining.

THIS legitimate heir of so many vast dominions, lived in the midst of the mountains in a state of independence. Some princesses of his family

family who had submitted to the conquerors, BOOK VII.
 abused his inexperience and youth, and prevailed upon him to come to Lima. The usurpers of his rights carried their insolence so far as to send him letters of grace, and assigned to him only a very moderate domain for his subsistence. He went to hide his shame and his regret in the valley of Yucay, where at the expiration of three years, death, though still too tardy, put an end to his unfortunate career. An only daughter who survived him, married Loyola; and from this union are sprung the houses of Oropesa and Alcannizas. Thus was the conquest of Peru completed towards the year 1560.

WHEN the Castilians had first made their appearance in this empire, it had an extent of more than fifteen thousand miles of coast upon the South Sea, and in it's depth it was bounded only by the highest of the Cordeleirias mountains. In less than half a century, these turbulent men pushed on their conquests eastward from Panama to the river Plata, and westward from the Chagre to the Oroonoko. Although the new acquisitions were most of them separated from Peru by terrible deserts, or by people who obstinately defended their liberty, yet they were all incorporated with it, and submitted to the same law, even down to these latter times. Let us take a review of those which have preserved or acquired some degree of importance; and we shall begin with the Darien.

THIS narrow slip of land, which joins South and North America together, is fortified by a chain of high mountains, sufficiently solid to resist the attacks of the two opposite seas. The country is so barren, so rainy, so unwholesome, and so full of insects, that the Spaniards in all probability would never have thought of fixing there, had they not found at Porto-Bello and at Panama, Notions concerning the province of Darien. Inquiry whether this country be of importance
 . . Vol. III. E harbours

BOOK heeded with those of the tyrant, wished for a deliverer.

An aged priest at length puts an end to the effusion of Spanish blood

SUCH a deliverer arrived from Europe in the person of Pedro de la Gasca. He was a priest advanced in years, but prudent, disinterested, firm, and especially endowed with an acute discernment. He brought no troops along with him, but he had been intrusted with unlimited powers. The first use he allowed himself to make of them, was to publish a general amnesty without distinction of persons or crimes, and to revoke the severe laws that had rendered the preceding administration odious. This step alone secured to him the fleet and the mountainous provinces. If Pizarro, to whom the amnesty had been particularly offered with every testimony of distinction, had accepted of it, as he was advised to do by the most enlightened of his partisans, the troubles would have been at an end. The habit of commanding would not suffer him to descend to a private station, and he had recourse to arms in hopes of perpetuating his memory. Without losing a moment, he advanced towards Cusco, where la Gasca was assembling his forces. On the 9th of April 1548, the battle was begun at the distance of four leagues from this place, in the plains of Saesahuana. One of the rebel general's lieutenants, seeing him abandoned at the first charge by his best soldiers, advised him, but in vain, to throw himself into the enemy's battalions, and perish like a Roman, but this weak head of a party chose rather to surrender, and end his life on a scaffold. Nine or ten of his officers were hanged round him. A more disgraceful sentence was pronounced against Carvajal.

This confidant of Pizarro, who in all the accounts is accused of having massacred with his own hand four hundred men, of having sacrificed, by means of his agents, more than a thousand

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enough
to excite
divisions
among
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tions?

harbours well calculated for establishing an easy communication between the Atlantic and the Southern Ocean. The rest of the isthmus had so little attraction for them, that the settlements of Saint Mary, and of Nombre de Dios, which had at first been formed there, were soon annihilated.

THIS neglect determined, in 1698, twelve hundred Scotch to go there. The Company, united for this enterprise, intended to gain the confidence of the few savages whom the sword had not destroyed; to arm them against a people whose ferocity they had experienced; to work the mines which were thought more valuable than they are; to intercept the galleons by cruises skillfully conducted; and to unite their forces with those of Jamaica, with sufficient management to acquire the sway in this part of the New World.

A PROJECT so alarming displeased the court of Madrid, which seemed determined to confiscate the effects of all the English, who traded with so much advantage in their dominions. It displeased Louis XIV. who offered to a power already too much exhausted, a fleet sufficient to frustrate the design: it displeased the Dutch, who were afraid that this new company would one day divide with them the smuggling trade, which they monopolized in these latitudes: It was even displeasing to the British ministry, who foresaw that Scotland, growing rich, would wish to emerge from that kind of dependence to which it's poverty had hitherto reduced it. This violent and universal opposition determined King William to revoke a permission which his favourites had extorted from him. It then became necessary to evacuate the golden island upon which this colony had been placed.

BUT the mere apprehension the Spaniards had felt of having such a neighbour, determined them

to pay more attention themselves to a country BOOK VII. which they had always hitherto disdained. Their missionaries succeeded in forming nine or ten villages, each of which contained from one hundred and fifty to two hundred savages. Whether from the unsettled disposition of the Indians, or from the oppression of their guides, these rising settlements began to fall off in 1716; and in our days, there are no more than three of them remaining, defended by four small forts and by a hundred soldiers.

THE province of Carthagena is bordered on the West by the river Darien, and on the East by that of Magdalena. The extent of it's coast is fifty-three leagues, and of the inland countries eighty-five. The arid and extremely high mountains that occupy the greatest part of this vast space, are separated by large valleys, well watered and fertile. The dampness and excessive heat of the climate prevent, indeed, the corn, the oils, the wines, and the fruits of Europe from thriving there: but rice, cassava, maize, cocoa, sugar, and all the productions peculiar to America, are very common. But cotton is the only article cultivated for exportation; and even the wool of this is so long, and so difficult in working, that it is only sold for the lowest price in our markets, and is rejected by most of the manufactures.

BASTIDAS was the first European, who, in 1502, appeared in these unknown latitudes. La Cosa, Guerra, Ojeda, Vesputius, and Oviedo, lauded there after him: but the people whom these plunderers meant to enslave, opposed them with such firmness, that they were obliged to give up all thoughts of forming a settlement there. At length Pedro de Heredia appeared in 1527, with a force sufficient to reduce them. He built and peopled Carthagena.

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IN 1544, some French pirates pillaged the new town. Forty-one years after, it was burnt by the celebrated Drake. Pointis, one of the admirals of Lewis XIV. took it in 1697; but by his cruel rapacity, he disgraced the arms which his ambitious master wished to render illustrious. The English were disgracefully obliged, in 1741, to raise the siege of it, though they had undertaken it with twenty-five ships of the line, six fire-ships, two bomb-ketches, and as many land-forces as were sufficient to conquer a great part of America. The misunderstanding between Vernon and Wentworth; the cabals which divided the army and the fleet; a want of experience in most of the commanders, and of subordination in the subalterns; all these causes united to deprive the nation of the glory and advantage it had flattered itself with, from one of the most brilliant armaments that had ever been dispatched from the British ports.

AFTER so many revolutions, Carthage now subsists in splendour in a peninsula of sand, which is joined to the continent only by two narrow necks of land, the broadest of which is not thirty-five toises. Its fortifications are regular. Nature has placed at a little distance a hill of a tolerable height, on which the citadel of St. Lazarus hath been built. These works are defended by a garrison more or less numerous, as circumstances require. The town is one of the best built, the most regular and best disposed, of any in the New World. It may contain twenty-five thousand souls. Of this number the Spaniards form the sixth part; the Indians, the Negroes, and several races composed of mixtures of an infinite variety, make up the remainder.

THESE mixtures are more common at Carthage than in most of the other Spanish colonies. A multitude

multitude of vagabonds without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually resorting to this place. In a country where they are totally unknown, no citizen can venture to repose any confidence in their services; they are destined to subsist wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lie in the corner of a square, or under the portico of some church. If the afflictions they experience in this miserable state should bring some violent disease upon them, they are commonly assisted by the free negro women, whose care and kindness they requite by marrying them. Those who have not the happiness of being in a situation dreadful enough to excite the compassion of the women, are obliged to take refuge in the country, and to devote themselves to fatiguing labours, which a certain national pride, and ancient customs, render equally insupportable. Indolence is carried so far in this country, that men and women who are wealthy seldom quit their hammocks, and that but for a little time.

THE climate must be one of the principal causes of this inactivity. The heat is excessive and almost continual at Carthagená. The torrents of water, which are incessantly pouring down from the month of May to November, have this peculiarity, that they never cool the air, which, however, is sometimes a little tempered by the north east winds in the dry season. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perspiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid colour of sickly persons. Even when they are in perfect health, their motions partake of the softness of the climate, which evidently relaxes their fibres. This indolence manifests itself even in their words, which are always uttered slowly, and with a low voice. Those who come hither from Europe preserve their

BOOK their fresh complexions and plumpness three or
 VII. four months: but they afterwards lose both.

THIS decay is the forerunner of an evil still more dreadful, but the nature of which is little known. It is conjectured that some persons are affected with it from catching cold, others from indigestion. It manifests itself by vomitings, accompanied with so violent a delirium, that the patient must be confined, to prevent him from tearing himself to pieces. He often expires in the midst of these agitations, which seldom last above three or four days. A lemonade made of the juice of the opuntium, or Indian fig, is, according to Godin, the best specific that has been found against so fatal a disease. Those who have escaped this danger at first, run no risk for the future. We are assured from the testimony of men of understanding, that even upon their return to Carthagera, after a long absence, they have nothing to fear.

THE town and it's territory exhibit the spectacle of a hideous leprosy, which indiscriminately attacks both the inhabitants and strangers. The philosophers who have attempted to ascribe this calamity to the eating of pork, have not considered that nothing of a similar kind is seen in the other parts of the New World, where this kind of food is not less common. To prevent the progress of this distemper, an hospital has been founded in the country. Persons who are supposed to be attacked with it, are shut up here, without distinction of sex, rank, or age. The benefit of so wise an establishment is lost through the avarice of the governors, who, without being deterred by the danger of spreading the disease, suffer the poor to go in and out to beg. Thus it is that the number of the sick is so great, that the inclosure of the dwelling is of an immense extent. Every one there

there enjoys a little spot of ground that is marked out for him on his admission. There he builds an abode suitable to his fortune, where he lives in tranquillity to the end of his days, which are often long, though unhappy. This disorder so powerfully excites that passion which is the strongest of all others, that it has been judged necessary to permit marriage to such as are afflicted with it. This is, perhaps, increasing the passion by increasing the means of satisfying it. These desires appear to be irritated by the very gratification of them, they increase by their very remedies, and are reproduced by each other. The inconvenience of beholding this ardent disease which infects the blood, perpetuated in the children, hath given way to the dread of other disorders that are, perhaps, chimerical.

LET us be allowed to form a conjecture. There are some people in Africa that are situated nearly under the same latitude, who have a custom of rubbing the body with an oil that is expressed from the fruit of a tree resembling the palm. This oil is of a disagreeable smell: but beside the property it has of keeping off insects which are very troublesome under this burning sky, it serves to make the skin pliable, and to preserve, or restore to that organ so essential to life, the free exercise of the office for which nature has designed it; it also quiets the irritation which dryness and aridity must bring on upon the skin, which then becomes so hard, that all kind of perspiration is intercepted. If a similar method were tried at Carthage, and if the cleanliness which the climate requires were added to it, perhaps this leprosy might be restrained, or even totally abolished.

NOTWITHSTANDING this disgusting distemper, the various defects of an inconvenient and dangerous

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gerous climate, and many other disagreeable circumstances, Spain hath always shewn a great predilection for Carthagená, on account of it's harbour, one of the best that is known. It is two leagues in extent, and hath a deep and excellent bottom. There is not more agitation there, than on the most calm river. There are two channels that lead up to it. That which is called Bocca-Grande, and which is from seven to eight hundred toises in breadth, had formerly so little depth, that the smallest canoe could with difficulty pass through it. The ocean hath gradually increased it's depth so much, that in some parts twelve feet of water may be found. If the revolutions of time should bring about greater alterations, the place would be exposed. Accordingly, the attention of the court of Madrid is seriously engaged in considering the means of preventing so great an evil. Perhaps, after much reflection, no simpler or more certain expedient will be found, than to oppose to the enemy's fleets a dike formed of old ships filled with stones and sunk in the sea. The channel of Bocca Chica hath been hitherto the only one practicable. This is so narrow, that only one vessel can enter at once. The English, in 1741, having destroyed the fortifications that defended this passage, they have been since restored with greater skill. They were no longer placed at the entrance of the gullet, but further up the channel, where they will secure a better defence.

At the time that these countries were supplied with provisions, by the well-known method of the galleons, the vessels which set out from Spain all together, sailed to Carthagená before they went to Porto Bello, and visited it again on their return to Europe. In the first voyage, they deposited the merchandise that was necessary for the supply

supply of the interior provinces, and received the price of them in the second. When single ships were substituted to these monstrous armaments, the city served for the same kind of staple. It was always the point of communication between the Old hemisphere and great part of the New. From the year 1748 to 1753, this staple was only visited with twenty-seven ships from Spain: these, in exchange for the merchandise they had brought, received every year, 9,357,806 livres (*a*), in gold; 4,729,498 livres (*b*), in silver; and 851,765 livres (*c*), in the produce of the country, in all, 14,939,069 livres (*d*).

THE article of the produce of the country, was composed of four thousand eight hundred and four-score quintals of cocoa, the value of which in Europe was 509,760 livres (*e*); of five hundred and eighty quintals of bark, of the value of 200,880 livres (*f*); of seventeen quintals of vicuna wool, of the value of 12,474 livres (*g*); of one quintal and a half of vanilla, of the value of 11,988 livres (*h*); of seven quintals of tortoise shell, of the value of 4,698 livres (*i*); of fifteen quintals of mother-of-pearl, of the value of 1,701 livres (*k*); of sixteen quintals of balsam, of the value of 18,900 livres (*l*); of two thousand and thirty quintals of a species of Brasil wood, of the value of 29,295 livres (*m*); of two thousand one hundred skins, with the hair on, of the value of 34,020 livres (*n*); of forty-two quintals of dragon's blood, of the value of 2,389 livres (*o*); of six quintals of balsam of capivi, of

(*a*) 389,905*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

(*c*) 35,490*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*

(*e*) 31,240*l.* 10*s.*

(*g*) 519*l.* 15*s.*

(*i*) 195*l.* 15*s.*

(*k*) 72*l.* 10*s.*

(*m*) 1,417*l.* 10*s.*

(*b*) 197,072*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*

(*d*) 612,451*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

(*f*) 8,370*l.*

(*h*) 499*l.* 10*s.*

(*j*) 711 7*s.* 6*d.*

(*l*) 1,220*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

(*o*) 99*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*

BOOK VII. the value of 2,700 livres *; of seven quintals of sarsaparilla, of the value of 972 livres †; of one quintal of ivory, of the value of 388 livres ‡; and lastly, of one hundred and eighty-eight quintals of cotton, of the value of 21,600 livres §.

In these returns, where there was nothing for government, and where all was for trade, the territory of Carthagena furnished only to the amount of 93,241 livres §. That of Saint Martha was still less profitable.

Causes of the oblivion into which the province of Saint Martha is fallen.

THIS province, the extent of which, from East to West is eighty leagues, and one hundred and thirty from North to South, was unfortunately discovered, as were all the neighbouring regions, at the disastrous period when the kings of Spain, solely intent upon their aggrandizement in Europe, required only from those of their subjects, who went into the New World, the fifth part of the gold which they collected in their plunders. Upon this condution, these robbers, who were stimulated by the love of novelty, by an inordinate passion for wealth, and even by the hopes of meriting heaven, were left to be the sole arbiters of their actions: Without dread of punishment, or of censure, they might wander about from one country to another, preserve or abandon a conquest, improve a territory, or destroy it, and massacre the people, or treat them with humanity, as they thought proper. Every thing suited the Court of Madrid; provided they were supplied with plenty of riches, the source from which they came always appeared honest and pure.

* 1131
† 161. 3s. 4d.
§ 3,985l. 6s. 10d.

+ 401. 9s.
|| 2001. 10s.

RAVAGES and cruelties that cannot be expressed, were the necessary consequence of these abominable principles; and universal desolation prevailed. The fatal vestiges of it are still to be traced in all parts, but more especially at Saint Martha. After these destroyers had spoiled the colonies of the gold which they had picked up in their rivers, and of the pearls which they had fished upon their coasts, they disappeared. The few among them who settled themselves there, raised one or two towns, and some villages, which remained without intercourse with each other, 'till it was opened by some indefatigable Capuchin missionaries, who, in our days, have contrived to collect, in eight hamlets, three thousand one hundred and ninety-one Motiloncs, or Evagiras, the most ferocious of the savages who opposed it. Here their despicable posterity vegetates, fed and waited upon by some Indians or Negroes. The mother-country hath never sent one single vessel into this district, and hath never received any kind of production from it. The industry and activity of this place consists only in a fraudulent trade of cattle, and especially mules, carried on with the Dutch, or with the other cultivators of the neighbouring islands, who give in exchange clothing, and some other objects of little value. Superstition keeps up this fatal indolence. It prevents the people from discerning that it is not by ceremonies, by flagellations, or by *autos da fê*, that the divinity is to be honoured; but by the sweat of man's brow, by the clearing of land, and by useful labours. These proud men persuade themselves that they are greater in a church, or at the feet of a monk, than in the fields or the workshop. The tyranny of their priests hath kept away from them that knowledge which might have undeceived them. Even this work,

BOOK VII. work, written purposely to enlighten them, they will never be acquainted with. If some fortunate event should put it into their hands, they would have an abhorrence of it, and would consider it as a criminal production, the author of which would deserve to be burnt.

First events that happened at Venezuela's.

ALPHONSO OJEDA was the first who reconnoitred, in 1499, the country called Venezuela, or Little Venice, a name that was given to it, because some huts were seen there, fixed upon stakes, to raise them above the stagnant waters that covered the plain. Neither this adventurer, nor his immediate successor, thought of forming any settlements there. Their ambition was only to make slaves, that they might convey them to the islands which their ferocity had depopulated. It was not 'till 1527 that John d'Ampuez fixed a colony upon this coast, and promised to his Court a region abounding in metals. This promise gave rise, in the following year, to an arrangement singular enough to attract our attention.

CHARLES V. who had united such a number of crowns upon his head, and concentrated so much power in himself, was engaged, by his ambition, or by the jealousy of his neighbours, in endless disputes, the expences of which exceeded his resources. In his necessities, he had borrowed considerable sums of the Welfers of Augsborg, who were then the richest merchants in Europe. That prince offered them in payment the province of Venezuela, and they accepted it as a fief of Castile.

It was to be supposed that merchants, who had acquired their fortune by the buying and selling of territorial productions, would establish plantations in their domains. It was to be supposed, that Germans, who had been brought up

up in the midst of mines, would work those which were upon the spot that was granted to them. But these expectations were entirely frustrated. The Welfers only sent into the New World four or five hundred of those fierce soldiers, whom their country began to sell to whoever would and could pay for their blood. These base hirelings carried along with them beyond the seas, that propensity for pillaging, which they had contracted in the different wars in which they had served. Under the guidance of their chiefs, Alfinger and Sailer, they overran an immense tract of country, putting the savages to the torture, and ripping them open, to extort from them where the gold was to be found. Some Indians, dragged along, and laden with provisions, who were put to death as soon as they sank under the lassitude, followed this savage band. Hunger, fatigue, and poisoned arrows, fortunately delivered the earth of this odious burthen. The Spaniards resumed possession of a soil which the Welfers would no longer have any concern with; and their conduct was not very different from that which had just excited so much horror. Their commander Carvajal, indeed, forfeited his life for these enormities: but this punishment did not recall from the grave the victims that had been precipitated into it. From their ashes arose, in process of time, a few productions, of which the cocoa was the principal.

THE cocoa tree, which is of a middling size, generally throws out five or six trunks from its root. The wood of it is brittle and white; its root reddish, and rather rugged. As it grows up it throws off some inclined branches, which do not spread far. Its leaves are alternate, oval, and terminated in a point. The largest of them are from eight to nine feet in length, and three in breadth.

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The cocoa
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BOOK breadth. They are all fixed upon short petals, flattened, and furnished at their basis with two membranes, or stipulæ. The flowers arise in small bunches along the stems and the branches. Their calix is greenish, and hath five deep divisions. The five petals that compose the corolla are small, yellow, inflated at their base, lengthened out into a kind of strap, which is folded up into a circular form, and widened at it's extremity. These petals are fixed at a spatha, formed by the assemblage of ten threads, five of which bear stamina. The five other intermediate ones are longer, and in the shape of a tongue. The pistil, which is placed in the center, and surmounted with one style only, becomes an oviform capsula, almost of a ligneous texture, six or seven inches in length, and two in breadth; uneven upon it's surface, marked with ten costæ, and separated internally by membranous partitions into five cells. The kernels which it contains, to the number of thirty, or more, are covered with a brittle shell, and surrounded with a whitish pulp.

THESE kernels are the basis of the chocolate, the goodness of which depends upon the oily part they contain, and consequently upon their perfect maturity. The capsula is gathered, when, after having changed successively from green to yellow, it acquires a dark musk colour. It is slit with a knife, and all the kernels, surrounded with their pulp, are taken out and heaped up in a tub, in order that they may ferment. This operation destroys the principle of vegetation, and removes the superfluous moisture from the kernels, which are afterwards exposed to the sun upon hurdles, in order to complete the drying of them. The cocoa, thus prepared, keeps for a considerable time, provided it be in a dry place; but it is not proper to keep it too long, because it

it loses, with age, part of it's oil and of it's properties. B C

The cocoa tree grows readily, from seeds that are sown in holes ranged in a straight line, and at the distance of five or six feet from each other. These seeds, which must be fresh, soon vegetate. The tree grows up tolerably fast, and begins to reward the labours of the cultivator at the end of two years. Two crops are gathered every year, which are equal in quality and quantity. This tree requires a rich and moist soil, which hath not been employed for any other kind of culture. If it should want water, it would produce no fruit, wither, and die. A shade, to shelter it continually from the heat of the sun, is not less necessary to it. The fields in which the cocoa trees are planted, are also liable to be destroyed by the hurricanes, unless care be taken to skirt them with stronger trees. The culture which the tree further requires is neither laborious nor expensive. It is sufficient to pull up the weeds that grow round it, and which would deprive it of it's nourishment.

The cocoa tree is cultivated in several parts of the New World; in some of them it even grows naturally. Nevertheless, it's fruit is no where so plentiful as at Venezuela; and no where of so good a quality, if we except Soconusco.

BUT for the space of two centuries, the labours of the colony did not turn out to the profit of the mother-country. The national trade was so much overburdened with taxes, and so much embarrassed with formalities, that the province found a considerable advantage in receiving from the hands of the Dutch of Curaçoa all the merchandise they wanted, and in giving them for payment the produce of their soil, which these indefatigable neighbours sold for an immense profit to part of Eu-
rope,

BOOK VII. rope, and even to the nation that was proprietor of the territory in which it was collected. This smuggling intercourse was so brisk and so constant, that from the year 1700 to the end of 1727, only five ships were sent out from the ports of Spain to Venezuela, and they, all of them without exception, made a voyage more or less ruinous.

The province of Venezuela is subjected to a monopoly. Prosperity of the Company. SUCH was the situation of affairs, when some merchants of the province of Guipuscoa, imagined, in 1728, that it would be advantageous to them to unite in a body in order to undertake this navigation. Their views were approved and encouraged by government. The principal conditions of the grant, were, that the Company should pay for every thing they might choose to send out, and for every thing they might receive, the taxes that were already settled, and that they should entertain, at their own expence, a sufficient number of guarda costas, to prevent the inhabitants from smuggling.

SOME alterations were successively made in the administration of this society. At first they were only permitted to fit out two ships every year; but in 1734 they obtained leave to send as many as they thought proper.

the neighbouring districts. They are allowed to disembark the rest at Saint Sebastian, the place of the rise of the Company. BOOK
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It was in this town that the general meeting of the proprietors was originally holden. In 1751, it was transferred to the capital of the empire, where some one of the most esteemed members of the council of the Indies presides over it every two years.

THE merchandise was at first delivered to the highest bidder. The Court was then informed that a general discontent prevailed; that a small number of rich associates should monopolize the cocoa, which is considered in Spain as an article of primary necessity, and should afterwards sell it at what price they chose. These murmurs occasioned, in 1752, a regulation, that without suppressing the magazines at Saint Sebastian, at Cadiz, and at Madrid, new ones should be established at Corunna, at Alicant, and at Barcelona; and that in all of them the cocoa should be retailed to the inhabitants at the price settled by the ministry.

THE Company obtained, in 1753, that their shares should be considered as a real estate, that they might be perpetually entailed, and formed into those unalienable, and indivisible *majorascos*, or inheritances settled upon the eldest heir, which are in general so flattering to the pride of the Spaniards.

It was decreed, in 1761, that the Company should advance, to the members who might wish for it, the value of sixteen shares; that these shares should be put in trust, and that they might be sold, if after a stipulated period the proprietor did not withdraw them. The intent of this prudent arrangement, was to succour such of the proprietors whose affairs might be somewhat embarrassed,

rest. This debt was to be discharged in commodities; and those who did not fulfill their engagements, were summoned to the tribunal of the king's representative, whose province it was solely to judge, whether the causes of delay were, or were not reasonable.

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THE magazines of the Company were constantly supplied with every thing that might be of use to the country, and always open to receive every thing the country could pour into them. By this method, the labours were never languid for want of means, or of a market.

THE value of what the Company were to sell, or to buy, was not left to the rapacity of their agents. The government of the province always fixed the price of what came from Europe; and a meeting, composed of the directors, colonists, and factors, always regulated the price of the productions of the soil.

SUCH of the inhabitants of the New World as were not satisfied with these regulations, were allowed to send into the Old one, upon their own account, the sixth part of their crops, and to receive the value in merchandise; but these affairs were always to be transacted by the ships of the Company.

By these arrangements the cultivator was better rewarded for his labours, than he had been at the time of the contraband trade. The new disposition of things was in reality fatal only to a few scheming, turbulent and adventurous men, who collected in their hands, at a low price, the productions of the country, in order to deliver them afterwards to foreign navigators of the same character as themselves.

THE new kingdom of Grenada, Mexico, some of the American islands, and the Canaries, were in the habit of drawing from Venezuela part of

BOOK VII the cocoa consumed by their inhabitants These colonies continued to enjoy this right without restraint They even pursued it with greater advantage, because the production which they wanted to procure became more plentiful, and was obtained at a cheaper rate -

FORMERLY Venezuela furnished nothing to the trade of the mother country The Company, since their establishment, have always supplied it with productions, the quantity of which hath successively increased From the year 1748 to 1753, the Company conveyed annually into the colony to the value of 3,197,327 livres (a), in merchandise They drew from thence annually to the amount of 239,144 livres (b), in silver, thirty seven thousand quintals of cocoa, which they sold for 5,332,000 livres (c), two thousand five hundred quintals of tobacco, sold for 178,200 livres (d), one hundred and fifty-seven quintals of indigo, sold for 198,990 livres (e), twenty thousand skins, with the hair on, sold for 356,400 livres (f), and some *druidi*, sold for 27,000 livres (g), so that their returns amounted to 6,821,734 livres (h) The apparent profit was, therefore, 3,634,407 livres (i) We call it apparent, because the expences and the customs absorbed 1,932,500 livres (k) of this sum, so that the real profit of the Company was only 1,701,897 livres (l)

ALL these branches of commerce have been increased except that of the *druidi*, which it hath been necessary to give up, since it hath been found that it was not fit to be substituted to

(a) 153 221 19 2d
(c) 222 1661 133 41
(e) 8 29 1 52
(g) 1 1251
(i) 151 4331 12 6d
(l) 70 9221 73 6d

(b) 9 9641 63 8d
(d) 7 4251
(f) 14 8501
(h) 284 6461 13 8d
(k) 80 5901 163 8d

the Aleppo nut in dying, as it had been rather BOOK
VII. inconsiderately imagined. The extention would have been still greater, had it been possible to put an end to smuggling. But notwithstanding the vigilance of ten cruisers, with eighty-six guns, one hundred and ninety-two swivels, and five hundred and eighteen men on board; notwithstanding twelve posts, with ten or twelve soldiers in each, established along the coast, and notwithstanding the annual expence of 1,400,000 livres *, the contraband trade hath not been entirely eradicated; and it is chiefly at Coro that it is carried on.

THE nation has profited equally by the establishment of the Company. It does not pay them for the cocoa more than half the price which the Dutch used to charge. The quintal, which is now bought in Spain for 160 livres †, used formerly to cost 320 §.

THE advantages which accrue to the government from the establishment of the Company are not less evident. Before this period, the revenues of the Crown at Venezuela, were never sufficient to defray the expences of sovereignty. They have since increased considerably, not only because the citadel of Puerto Cabello has been constructed, which hath cost 1,620,000 livres ||, but also because a greater number of regular troops are maintained in the country. The treasury, however, hath some superfluous cash, which it distributes at Cumana, at St. Margaret's, at Trinity island, and on the Oroonoko. This is not the whole. In Europe, the productions of the country pay annually to the State more than 1,600,000 €, and the navigation they give rise to

* 58,333l. 6s 8d

† 13l. 6s. 8d

‡ 66,666l. 13s. 4d.

§ 6l. 13s. 4d.

|| 67,500l

B O O K forms fifteen hundred sailors for it, or keeps them
 { **VII.** in constant employment.

BUT hath the Company itself been equally prosperous? There was every reason to doubt, in the beginning, whether it would maintain itself. Although the colonists were allured to become members of it, they refused at first to deliver their productions to it. In Spain, where a commercial association was a novelty, no great eagerness was shewn to become a member of it, notwithstanding the example set by the monarch, by the queen, by the Infant Don Lewis, and by the province of Guipuscoa. It was necessary to reduce the number of shares to fifteen hundred, which it had been resolved to carry on to three thousand; and the capital, intended to be six millions *, was reduced to three †. These difficulties did not prevent considerable dividends from being paid to the proprietors, even in the very first years. The sums in reserve were, however, sufficient, in 1752, to double the original funds, and in 1766 to treble them, with a regular interest of five per cent. exclusive of the extraordinary dividends. On the first of January 1772, the company's debts, even including the value of the shares, which had risen to 1,000,000 livres ‡, amounted to no more than 15,198,618 livres 12 sols §, and they were in possession of 21,153,760 livres four sols ||. Consequently, they had 5,955,141 livres 12 sols ¶ above what they owed.

THE improper spirit that generally prevails in exclusive societies, hath not infected that of Caracacas so much as others. It hath never been led astray from it's system by absurd enterprises. It's in-

* 250,000l.

† 375,000l.

|| 281,427l. 3s. 6d.

† 125,000l.

§ 633,275l. 18s. 6d.

¶ 246,150l. 18s.

O O K matter of doubt whether it will be allowed time
 VII. to execute them. The resolution, which the
 Court of Madrid seems to have taken, to open
 it's ports of the New World to all it's subjects
 of the Old, must necessarily excite a presumption
 that the province of Venezuela will, sooner or
 later, cease to be under the restraints of a mono-
 poly. It is however a problem, whether the dis-
 solution of the Company will be productive of
 good or evil; and it can only be solved by the
 nature of the measures that shall be adopted by
 the Spanish ministry.

The Court of Madrid gives up Cumana to the care of Las Casas
 The coast of Cumana was discovered in 1498
 by Columbus. Ojeda, who had embarked with
 this great navigator, landed there the next year,
 and even made some exchanges peaceably with the
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 venturers who succeeded him, to strip these feeble
 men of their gold or of their pearls; and this
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 dertook to put a stop to it.

This man, so famous in the annals of the New
 World, had accompanied his father at the time
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 vote his labours to their conversion. But this
 soon became the least of his attentions. Being
 more a man than a priest, he felt more for their
 cruelties exercised against them, than for their
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 hurrying from one hemisphere to the other, in
 order to comfort those for whom he had con-
 ceived such an attachment, or to soften their
 tyrants. The inutility of his efforts convinced
 him, that he should never do any good in settle-
 ments that were already formed; and he proposed

to himself to establish a colony upon a new foundation. BOOK
VII.

His colonists were all to be planters, artificers, or missionaries. No one was to be allowed to mix with them without his consent. A particular dress, ornamented with a cross, was to prevent them from being thought to belong to that race of Spaniards which had rendered itself so odious. He reckoned, that with these kinds of knights, he should be able, without war, violence, or slavery, to civilize the Indians, to convert them, to accustom them to labour, and even to employ them in working the mines. He asked no assistance from the treasury at first, and he was afterwards satisfied with the twelfth of the tributes which he should sooner or later bring into it.

THE ambitious, who govern empires, consider the people as mere objects of trade, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to the improvement and happiness of the human species. Such was at first the impression which the system of Las Casas made upon the Spanish ministry. He was not discouraged by denials, and at length succeeded in having the district of Cumana ceded to him, to put his theory in practice. This man of ardent genius immediately went through all the provinces of Castille, in order to collect men accustomed to the labours of the field, and to those of manufactures. But these peaceful citizens had not so eager a desire to leave their country as soldiers or sailors have. Scarce could he prevail upon two hundred of them to follow him. With these he set sail for America, and landed at Porto-Rico in 1519, after a fortunate voyage.

ALTHOUGH Las Casas had only quitted the New Hemisphere two years before, yet he found a total alteration in it at his return. The entire destruction of the Indians to the islands subject to Spain,

B O O K matter of doubt whether it will be allowed time
VII. to execute them. The resolution, which the Court of Madrid seems to have taken, to open it's ports of the New World to all it's subjects of the Old, must necessarily excite a presumption that the province of Venezuela will, sooner or later, cease to be under the restraints of a monopoly. It is however a problem, whether the dissolution of the Company will be productive of good or evil; and it can only be solved by the nature of the measures that shall be adopted by the Spanish ministry.

The Court of Madrid gives up Cumana to the care of Las Casas The coast of Cumana was discovered in 1498 by Columbus. Ojeda, who had embarked with this great navigator, landed there the next year, and even made some exchanges peaceably with the savages. It appeared more convenient to the adventurers who succeeded him, to strip these feeble men of their gold or of their pearls; and this kind of robbery was as common in this region as in the other parts of America, when Las Casas undertook to put a stop to it.

Ineffectual attempts of this celebrated man to render this district flourishing This man, so famous in the annals of the New World, had accompanied his father at the time of the first discovery. The mildness and simplicity of the Indians affected him so strongly, that he made himself an ecclesiastic, in order to devote his labours to their conversion. But this soon became the least of his attentions. Being more a *man*, than a *priest*, he felt more for their cruelties exercised against them, than for their ridiculous superstitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other, in order to comfort those for whom he had conceived such an attachment, or to soften their tyrants. The inutility of his efforts convinced him, that he should never do any good in settlements that were already formed; and he proposed.

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His colonists were all to be planters, artificers, or missionaries. No one was to be allowed to mix with them without his consent. A particular dress, ornamented with a cross, was to prevent them from being thought to belong to that race of Spaniards which had rendered itself so odious. He reckoned, that with these kinds of knights, he should be able, without war, violence, or slavery, to civilize the Indians, to convert them, to accustom them to labour, and even to employ them in working the mines. He asked no assistance from the treasury at first, and he was afterwards satisfied with the twelfth of the tributes which he should sooner or later bring into it.

THE ambitious, who govern empires, consider the people as mere objects of trade, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to the improvement and happiness of the human species. Such was at first the impression which the system of Las Casas made upon the Spanish ministry. He was not discouraged by denials, and at length succeeded in having the district of Cumana ceded to him, to put his theory in practice. This man of ardent genius immediately went through all the provinces of Castile, in order to collect men accustomed to the labours of the field, and to those of manufactures. But these peaceful citizens had not so eager a desire to leave their country as soldiers or sailors have. Scarce could he prevail upon two hundred of them to follow him. With these he set sail for America, and landed at Porto-Rico in 1519, after a fortunate voyage.

ALTHOUGH Las Casas had only quitted the New Hemisphere two years before, yet he found a total alteration in it at his return. The entire destruction of the Indians to the islands subject to Spain,

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Spain, had excited the resolution of going to the continent in search of slaves, to replace the unfortunate men who had perished from oppression. This cruelty disgusted the independent minds of the savages. In the height of their resentment, they massacred as many of the Spaniards as fell into their hands by chance, and two missionaries, who probably came to Cumina with a laudable design, were the victims of these just retaliations. Ocampo immediately went from St Domingo, to punish an outrage committed, as it was said, against Heaven itself, and after having destroyed all by fire and sword, he built a village upon the spot, which he called Toledo.

It was within these weak palisades that Las Casas was obliged to place the small number of his companions, who had resisted the intemperance of the climate, and the attempts made to seduce them from him. Their residence was not long here. Most of them were pierced with the darts of an implacable enemy, and those who escaped, were forced, in 1521, to seek an asylum some where else.

SOME Spaniards have since settled at Cumina, but the population of this district hath always been much confined, and hath never extended to any distance from the coasts. During the course of two centuries, the mother country had not any direct intercourse with this spot. It is but lately, that one or two small ships have been sent there annually, which, in exchange for the liquors and merchandise of Europe, receive cocoa and some other productions.

Of the river Oronoko

It was Columbus, who, in 1498, first discovered the Oronoko, the borders of which have since been named, Spanish Guiana. This great river takes its source among the Cordeleiras mountains, and discharges itself into the ocean by forty open

ings, after it hath been increased throughout an immense track by the afflux of a prodigious number of rivers more or less considerable. Such is it's impetuosity, that it stems the strongest tides, and preserves the freshness of it's waters to the distance of twelve leagues from that vast and deep channel within which it was confined. It's rapidity, however, is not always the same, which is owen to a circumstance perhaps entirely peculiar. The Oroonoko, which begins to swell in April, continues rising for five months, and during the sixth remains at it's greatest height. From October, it begins gradually to subside till the month of March, throughout the whole of which it remains in the fixed state of it's greatest diminution. These alternate changes are regular, and even invariable.

THIS phenomenon seems to depend much more on the sea than on the land. In the six months that the river is rising, the hemisphere of the New World presents nothing but seas, at least but little land, to the perpendicular action of the rays of the sun. In the six months of it's fall, America exhibits nothing but dry land to the planet by which it is illuminated. The sea at this time is less subject to the influence of the sun, or, at least, it's current towards the eastern shore is more balanced, more broken by the land, and must, therefore, leave a freer course to the rivers, which not being then so strongly confined by the sea, cannot be swelled but by rains, or by the melting of the snows from the Cordelairias. Perhaps, indeed, the rising of the waters of the Oroonoko may depend entirely on the rainy season. But to be thoroughly acquainted with the causes of so singular a phenomenon, it would be necessary to consider the connection between the course of this river, and that of the Amazons by Rio Negro,

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gro, and to know the track and direction both of the one and the other. From the difference of their position, their source, and their opening into the sea, it is not improbable that the cause of so remarkable a difference in the periods of their flux and reflux might be discovered. All things are connected in this world by system. The courses of the rivers depend either on the diurnal, or annual revolutions of the earth. Whenever enlightened men shall have visited the banks of the Oroonoko, they will discover, or at least they will attempt to discover, the causes of these phenomena: but their endeavours will be attended with difficulties. This river is not so navigable as it might be, presumed from it's magnitude; it's bed is in many places filled up with rocks, which oblige the navigator, at times, to carry both his boats and the merchandise they are laden with.

Former
and pre-
sent con-
dition of
the women
on the
banks of
the Oroon-
oko.

BEFORE the arrival of the Europeans, the people who border on this river, but little distant from the burning equator, knew not the use of clothes, nor the restraints of police; neither had they any form of government. Free under the yoke of poverty, they lived chiefly by hunting and fishing, and on wild fruits. But little of their time or labour could be spent on agriculture, where they had nothing but a stick to plough with, and hatchets made of stone to cut down trees; which, after being burned, or rotted, left the soil in a proper state for bearing.

THE women lived in a state of oppression on the Oroonoko, as they do in all barbarous regions. The savage, whose wants engage his whole attention, is employed only in providing for his safety and his subsistence. He hath no other allurements to partake of the pleasures of love, than that mere natural instinct which attends to

to the perpetuity of the species. The intercourse BOOK
VII. between the two sexes, which is generally casual, would scarce ever be followed by any permanent consequences, if paternal and maternal tenderness did not attach the parents to their offspring. But before the first child can provide for itself, others are born which call for the same care. At length the instant arrives, when this social reason exists no more: but then, the power of long habit, the comfort of seeing ourselves surrounded by a family more or less numerous, the hopes of being assisted in our latter years by our posterity; all these circumstances expell the idea and the wish of a separation. The men are the persons who reap the greatest advantages from this cohabitation. Among people who hold nothing in estimation but strength and courage, tyranny is always exercised over weakness, in return for the protection that is afforded it. The women live in a state of disgrace. Labours, considered as the most abject, are their portion. Men, whose hands are accustomed to the handling of arms, and to the management of the oar, would think themselves degraded, if they employed them in sedendary occupations, or even in the labours of agriculture.

AMONG a people of shepherds, who having a more certain existence, can bestow rather more attention upon making it agreeable, the women are less wretched. In the ease and leisure which they enjoy, these people can form to themselves an idea of beauty, they can indulge their taste in the object of their affections; and, to the idea of natural pleasure, can add that of a more noble sensation.

THE connections between the two sexes, are still further improved, as soon as the lands begin to be cultivated. Property, which had no existence among savages, and was of little consequence

B O O K among a people of shepherds, begins to acquire a
VII degree of importance among a people engaged in
 agriculture. The inequality which soon intro-
 duces itself among the fortunes of men, must
 occasion some in the consideration they hold.
 The ties of marriage are then no longer formed by
 chance; but according to conditions in life that
 are suitable to each other. A man, in order to be
 accepted, must make himself agreeable, and this
 necessity brings on attentions to the women, and
 gives them a degree of dignity.

THEY receive additional importance from the
 establishment of the arts and of commerce.
 Business is then increased, and connections are
 complicated. Men, who are often obliged, from
 more extensive affairs, to quit their manufactures
 and their home, are under the necessity of adding
 to their talents the vigilance of their wives. As
 the habit of gallantry, luxury, and dissipation,
 hath not yet entirely disgusted them of solitary or
 serious occupations, they devote themselves, with-
 out reserve, and with success, to functions with
 which they think themselves honoured. The
 retirement which this kind of life requires, ren-
 ders the practice of all the domestic virtues dear
 and familiar to them. The influence, the re-
 spect, and the attachment of all those that are
 about them, are the reward of a conduct so
 estimable.

At length the time comes, when men grow
 disgusted of labour from the increase of their
 fortunes. Their principal care is to prevent time
 from hanging heavy on their hands, to multiply
 their amusements, and to extend their enjoy-
 ments. At this period the women are eagerly
 sought after, both on account of the amiable qua-
 lities they hold from nature, and of those they have
 received from education. Their connections be-
 come

come more extensive, so that they are no longer suited for a retired life, but required to shine in a more brilliant scene. When introduced upon the stage of the world, they become the soul of every pleasure, and the primum mobile of the most important affairs. Supreme happiness consists in making one's self agreeable to them, and it is the height of ambition to obtain some distinction from them. Then it is, that the freedom which exists between the two sexes in a state of nature is revived, with this remarkable difference, that in polished cities the husband is often less attached to his wife, and the wife to her husband, than in the midst of the forests, that their offspring, trusted, at the instant of their birth, to the hands of mercenaries, are no longer a tie, and that infidelity, which would be attended with no fatal consequences among most savage people, affects domestic tranquillity and happiness amongst civilized nations, where it is one of the principal symptoms of general corruption, and of the extinction of all decent affections.

THE tyranny exercised against the women upon the banks of the Oroonoko, still more than in the rest of the New World, must be one of the principal causes of the depopulation of these countries that are so much favoured by nature. Mothers have contracted the custom of destroying the daughters they bring forth, by cutting the umbilical cord so close to the body, that the children die of an hæmorrhage. Christianity itself hath not even been able to put a stop to this abominable practice. The fact is confirmed by the Jesuit Gumilla, who being informed that one of his converts had been guilty of such a murder, went to her in order to reproach her of her crime in the strongest terms. The woman listened to the emissary without shewing the least signs of emotion.

When

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When he had finished his remonstrance, she desired leave to answer him, which she did in the following manner.

“ Would to God, O Father! Would to God,
 “ that at the instant of my birth, my mother had
 “ shewed love and compassion enough for her
 “ child, to spare me all the evils I have endured,
 “ and those I shall still suffer, to the end of my
 “ life! Had my mother destroyed me at my birth,
 “ I should have died, but I should not have been
 “ sensible of my death, and should have escaped
 “ the most miserable of conditions. How much
 “ have I already suffered, and who knows what I
 “ have still to undergo.

“ Represent to thyself, O Father, the troubles
 “ that are reserved for an Indian woman among
 “ these Indians. They accompany us into the
 “ fields with their bow and arrows, while we
 “ go there, laden with an infant, whom we carry
 “ in a basket, and another, who hangs at our
 “ breast. They go to kill birds, or to catch
 “ fish, while we are employed in digging the
 “ ground, and after having gone through all the
 “ labours of the culture, are obliged also to bear
 “ those of the harvest. They return in the even-
 “ ing without any burthen, and we bring them
 “ roots for their food, and maize for their drink.
 “ As soon as they come home, they go and
 “ amuse themselves with their friends, while
 “ we are fetching wood and water to prepare for
 “ their supper. When they have eaten, they fall
 “ asleep, and we pass almost the whole night in
 “ grinding the maize, and in preparing the chicha
 “ for them. And what reward have we for these
 “ labours? They drink, and when they are in-
 “ toxicated, they drag us by the hair, and trample
 “ us under foot.

“ O Father,

“ O Father, would to God that my mother had
 “ destroyed me at the instant of my birth! Thou
 “ knowest, thyself, that our complaints are just;
 “ thou hast daily instances before thine eyes of
 “ the truth of my assertions. But the greatest
 “ misfortune we labour under, it is impossible
 “ thou shouldest know. It is a melancholy cir-
 “ cumstance for a poor Indian woman to serve
 “ her husband as a slave in the fields, oppressed
 “ with fatigue, and at home deprived of tran-
 “ quillity: but it is a dreadful thing, when
 “ twenty years are elapsed, to see him take ano-
 “ ther woman, whose judgment is not formed.
 “ He attaches himself to her. She beats our
 “ children; she commands us, and treats us as
 “ her servants; and if the least murmur escape
 “ us, a stick raised. Oh! Father,
 “ how is it possible that we should bear this con-
 “ dition? What can an Indian woman do better,
 “ than to prevent her child from living in a state
 “ of slavery infinitely worse than death? Would
 “ to God, O Father! I repeat it, that my mo-
 “ ther had conceived affection enough for me to
 “ bury me when I was born! My heart would not
 “ have been thus afflicted; nor would mine eyes
 “ have been accustomed to tears.”

THE Spaniards, who could not pay attention
 to all the regions they discovered, lost sight of the
 Oroonoko. They did not attempt to sail up this
 river again till the year 1535, when, not having
 found there the mines they were in search of, they
 neglected it. Nevertheless, the few who had
 been thrown upon this spot, devoted themselves
 with so much assiduity to the culture of tobacco,
 that they delivered a few cargoes of it every year
 to the foreign vessels which came to purchase it.
 This contraband trade was prohibited by the mo-
 ther-country, and this weak settlement was twice

State of
 the Spa-
 nish colo-
 ny formed
 on the
 banks of
 the Oroo-
 noko

BOOK VII. plundered by enterprising pirates. These disasters occasioned it to be forgotten. It was recalled to mind again in 1753. The commodore Nicholas de Yturiaga was sent there. This prudent man established a regular system of government in the colony, that had formed itself insensibly in this part of the New World.

IN 1771, thirteen villages were seen upon the banks of the Oroonoko, which contained four thousand two hundred and nineteen Spaniards, Mestees, Mulattoes, or Negroes; four hundred and thirty one plantations; and twelve thousand eight hundred and fifty-four oxen, mules or horses.

AT the same period, the Indians, who had been prevailed upon to quit their savage life, were distributed in forty-nine hamlets.

THE five of these which had been under the direction of the Jesuits, computed fourteen hundred and twenty-six inhabitants, three hundred and forty-four plantations, and nine hundred and fifty heads of cattle.

ELEVEN of them, which are under the direction of the Franciscan friars, reckoned nineteen hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, three hundred and five plantations, and nine hundred and fifty heads of cattle.

ELEVEN others, which are under the direction of the Capuchins of Arragon, computed two thousand two hundred and eleven inhabitants, four hundred and seventy plantations, and five hundred and seven heads of cattle.

THE two and twenty which are under the direction of the Capuchins of Catalonia, reckoned six thousand eight hundred and thirty inhabitants, fifteen hundred and ninety-two plantations, and forty-six thousand heads of cattle.

own soil; for the dried and salt fish that came from the coasts; for the soap, made of goat's grease, that was supplied by Piura and Trufillo; for the crude or wrought iron that was wanted for its manufactures; and for the small quantity that it was possible it should consume of the merchandise of our hemisphere. These resources have been considerably lessened, since manufactures of the same kind have been established in the neighbouring provinces; and especially since the superior cheapness of the European cottons and linens hath extended the use of them in a singular manner. Accordingly, the country is fallen into the most extreme state of misery.

It will never emerge from this situation by its provisions. Not but that its fields are in general covered with sugar canes, with all sorts of corn, with delicious fruits, and with numerous flocks. It would be difficult to find a soil so fertile, and cultivated with so little expence, but nothing that it furnishes can supply foreign markets. Its natural riches must be consumed upon the same territory that hath produced them. The bark is its only production which it has hitherto been possible to export.

THE tree which yields this precious remedy hath a streight stem, and rises to a considerable height when left to itself. Its trunk and its branches are proportioned to its height. The leaves, which are opposite, and connected at their base by an intermediary membrane or stipula, are of an oval figure, spread out at the lower part, and acute at their apex; they are very smooth and of a beautiful green. From the axillæ of the upper leaves, which are smaller, arise clusters of flowers, resembling, at first sight, those of the lavender. Their calix, which is short, hath five divisions. The corolla forms an elongated

The bark comes from the province of Quito
Reflections upon this remedy.

B O O K elongated tube, blueish on the outside, and red
 VII. within; it is filled with five stamina, spread out at the upper part, and divided into five lobes finely dentated. It bears upon a pistil, which being surmounted with a single style, occupies the fundus of the calix, and becomes with it a dry fruit, truncated at the upper extremity, and divided longitudinally into two half-pods full of seeds, and lined with a membraneous expansion.

THIS tree grows upon the slope of mountains. The only precious part of it is the bark, known by it's febrifuge qualities; and which requires no other preparation than that of drying. The thickest was preferred, till repeated analyses and experiments had shewn, that the thinnest possessed most virtue.

THE inhabitants distinguish three species, or rather three varieties of bark. The yellow and the red, which are in equal estimation, and differ only in the depth of their colour; and the white, which being of a much inferior quality, is not in great request. It is distinguished by it's leaf being less smooth and rounder, it's flower whiter, it's seed larger, and it's bark white on the outside. The bark of the good species is generally brown, brittle, and rough on it's surface, with cracks upon it.

UPON the borders of the river Maragnon, the country of Jaén furnishes a great deal of white bark; but it was imagined, for a long time, that the yellow and the red were found no where but upon the territory of Loxa, a town founded, in 1545, by Captain Alonzo de Mercadillo. The most esteemed was that which grew at the distance of two leagues from this place, upon the mountain of Cajanuma; and no longer than fifty years ago, the merchants used to endeavour to
 prove

most of them would have taken this resolution, had they been employed in those destructive labours which have caused such ravages in the other parts of the New World

SOME writers have spoken with almost unexampled enthusiasm, of the riches which were at first derived from this new kingdom. They make them amount to a sum capable of astonishing the minds of those who are most eager of the marvellous. Never, perhaps, was exaggeration ever carried so far. If the reality had only approached near to the fabulous accounts, this remarkable prosperity would have been recorded in the public registers, as well as the state of all the colonies that are really important. Other monuments could have perpetuated the remembrance of it. These treasures have never therefore existed at any time, except under the pen of a few writers, naturally credulous, or who suffered themselves to be seduced by the hope of adding to the splendour with which their country already shone.

What the New kingdom of Grenada hath been what it is and what it may become

THE New kingdom furnishes at present the emerald, a precious stone, which is transparent, and of a green colour, and which hath no greater degree of hardness than the rock crystal.

SOME countries of Europe furnish emeralds, but they are of a very imperfect kind, and in little estimation.

It was for a long time believed, that emeralds of a bright green came from the East Indies, and it is on this account that they have been called oriental. This opinion hath been rejected, since those who supported it have not been able to name the places where they were found. It is now certain that Asia hath never sold us any of these jewels, except what she herself had received from the New Hemisphere.

THESE

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THESE beautiful emeralds, therefore, belong certainly to America alone. The first conquerors of Peru found a great quantity of them, which they broke on anvils, from an opinion which these adventurers entertained, that they would not break if they were fine. This loss became the more sensibly felt through the impossibility of discovering the mine from whence the Incas had drawn them. The kingdom of New Grenada soon supplied this deficiency. This district sends at present a less quantity of these jewels, whether it be that they are become more scarce, or that they are less in fashion in our climate than they were. But gold comes from thence in greater plenty, and it is supplied by the provinces of Popayan and Chaco. It is obtained without much risk, and at no considerable expence.

THIS precious metal, which in other parts must be digged out of the entrails of rocks, mountains and precipices, is here found almost at the surface of the earth. It is mixed with it, but easily separated by washings, more or less frequently repeated. The negroes, who are never employed in mines of any depth, because experience hath shewn, that the cold in these mines destroyed them very fast, are the only persons burthened with these troublesome labours. The custom is, that the slaves should bring to their masters a certain quantity of gold. All they can collect above this quantity belongs to themselves, as also what they find upon the days consecrated to rest by religion; but under the express condition, that they shall provide for their subsistence during these holy days. By these arrangements, the most laborious, the most frugal, and the most fortunate among them, are able, sooner or later, to purchase their liberty. Then they raise their eyes towards the

the Spaniards: then they mix their blood with that of these proud conquerors.

THE Court of Madrid was dissatisfied that a region, the natural advantages of which were continually extolled, should furnish so few articles, and so little of each. The distance of this immense country from the center of authority, established at Lima for the government of all South America, must have been one of the principal causes of this inactivity. A more immediate superintendence was accordingly given to it, in order to communicate more motion to it, and to make that motion more regular. The viceroyalty of Peru was divided into two parts. That which was established in 1718, in the New kingdom of Grenada, was formed upon the North Sea, of all that space that extends from the frontiers of Mexico to the Oroonoko; and upon the South Sea of that space which begins at Veragua and ends at Tumbez. In the inland parts of the country Quito was also incorporated in it.

THIS new arrangement, though prudent and necessary, did not at first produce the great advantages that were expected from it. Much time is required to form good directors; and more still, perhaps, to establish order, and to restore to labour whole generations, enervated by continuing for two centuries in a state of idleness and libertinism. The revolution hath however begun to take place; and Spain already receives some benefit from it.

HALF of the gold collected in the colony was smuggled to foreigners; and it was chiefly by the rivers Atrato and de la Hache, that this clandestine trade was carried on. The government have made themselves masters of the course of these rivers, by forts properly situated. Notwithstanding these precautions, the smuggling will still continue,

BOOK VII. { continue, as long as the Spaniards and their neighbours shall find their interest in it; but it will diminish. The harbours of the mother-country will send a greater quantity of merchandise, and will receive more metals.

THE communication between one province, one city, and even one village and another, was difficult; or impracticable. Every traveller was more or less exposed to be plundered, or massacred by the independent Indians. These enemies, who were formerly implacable, yield, by degrees, to the invitations of the missionaries, who have the courage to go in search of them, and to the marks of benevolence which have at length succeeded, to the cruelties so generally practised in the New World. If this mild spirit should be continued, the savages of this region may one day become all civilized, and have a fixed residence.

NOTWITHSTANDING the known goodness of great part of the territory, several of the provinces forming the New kingdom, used to draw their subsistence from Europe or from North America. At length the government have been able to prohibit the importation of foreign flour throughout the extent of the vice-royalty, and even to furnish Cuba with some. When the means shall no longer be wanting, private plantations will be established in the New World along the coasts; but the difficulty and the dearth of transport, will never allow the inland parts of their country to extend their harvests beyond what is required for local consumption. The chief wish of the people who inhabit these parts, is, generally confined to the extension of the mines.

EVERY thing announces that these mines are, in a manner, innumerable in the New kingdom. The quality of the soil points them out. The almost

most daily earthquakes that happen there are owing to them. It is from them that the gold must flow, which the rivers habitually carry along with them, and it is from them that the gold came, which the Spaniards, at their first arrival in the New World, took from the savages on the coasts in such great quantities. These are not mere conjectures at Maraquita, at Muso, at Pampeluna, at Tacayma, and at Canaverales. The great mines, that are found there are going to be opened, and it is hoped they will not be less abundant than those of the valley of Neyva, which for some time past have been worked with so much success. These new treasures will all unite themselves to those of Chaco and Popayan in Santa Fè de Bogota, the capital of the viceroyalty.

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THE city is situated at the foot of a steep and cold mountain, at the entrance of a vast and superb plain. In 1774, it contained seventeen hundred and seventy houses, three thousand two hundred and forty six families, and sixteen thousand two hundred and thirty-three inhabitants. Population must necessarily increase there, since it is the seat of government, the place where the coin is stricken, the staple of trade, and lastly, since it is the residence of an archbishop, whose immediate jurisdiction extends over thirty one, Spanish villages, which are called towns, over one hundred and ninety-five Indian colonies, anciently subdued, and over eight and twenty missions, established in modern times. This archbishop hath likewise, as metropolitan, a sort of inspection over the dioceses of Quito, of Panama, of Caraccas, of Saint Martha, and of Carthagena. It is by this last place, though at the distance of one hundred leagues, and by the river Magdalena, that Santa Fè keeps up it's communication

BOOK VII. **Q**uito. **K**tion with Europe. The same route serves for

Remark-able singularities in the province of **Q**uito. **T**his province is of immense extent; but the greatest part of this vast space is full of forests, morasses, and deserts, in which we meet with nothing but a few wandering savages, at great intervals of distance. The only part that can properly be said to be occupied, and governed by the Spaniards, is a valley of fourscore leagues in length, and fifteen in breadth, formed by two branches of the Cordeleirias.

This is one of the finest countries in the world. Even in the center of the torrid zone, spring here is perpetual. Nature hath combined, under the line that covers so many seas and so little land, every circumstance that could moderate the ardent heat of that beneficent constellation, which is the cause of universal fertility: these are, the elevation of the globe in this summit of it's sphere; the vicinity of mountains of immense height and extent, and always covered with snows; and continual winds which refresh the country the whole year, by interrupting the force of the perpendicular rays of heat. Nevertheless, after a morning which is usually delightful, vapours begin to arise about one or two o'clock in the forenoon. The sky is covered with gloomy clouds, which are changed into storms. Then the whole atmosphere is illuminated, and appears to be set on fire by lightning; and the thunder makes the mountains resound with a terrible noise. To these, dreadful earthquakes are sometimes added: at other times rain or sunshine prevails without intermission for fifteen days together; and then there is an universal conformation. The excess of moisture spoils what is sown, and drought produces dangerous diseases.

BUT,

BUT, if we except these unhappy accidents, BOOK VII. which are extremely rare, the climate is one of the most wholesome. The air is so pure, that those nauseous insects are there unknown which infest almost the whole of America. Though licentiousness and neglect render venereal complaints here almost general, the people suffer very little from them. Those who have inherited this contagious distemper, or who have acquired it, grow old equally without danger and without inconvenience.

THE moisture and the action of the sun being continual, and always sufficient to unfold and strengthen the shoots, the agreeable picture of the three most beautiful seasons of the year is continually presented to the eye of the inhabitants. In proportion as the grass withers, fresh grass springs up; and the enamel of the meadows is hardly past, but it appears fresh. The trees are incessantly covered with green leaves, adorned with odoriferous flowers, and always laden with fruit; the colour, form, and beauty of which are continually varying in all their several progressive states, from their first appearance to their maturity. The corn advances in the same progression of fertility that is always renewing. At one view one may behold the new-sown seed springing up, some that is grown larger and spiked with ears, some turning yellow, and some under the reaper's scythe. The whole year is passed in sowing and reaping, within the compass of the same horizon. This constant variety depends on the diversity of the exposures.

ACCORDINGLY, this is the most populous part of the continent of America. There are ten or twelve thousand inhabitants at St. Michael d'Ibarra. Eighteen or twenty thousand at Otabalo. Ten Reasons why the country of Quito is so populous or

B O O K or twelve thousand at Latacunga. Eighteen or
VII. twenty thousand at Riobamba. Eight or ten
 thousand at Hambato. From five and twenty to
 thirty thousand at Cuença. Ten thousand at
 Loxa, and six thousand at Zumara. The country,
 as it is. Labours of it's in- habitants. places do not afford a less number of men than the towns.

POPULATION would certainly be less considerable, if, as in many other places, the people had been buried in the mines. Numberless writers have blamed the inhabitants of this district for not having continued to work the mines that were opened at the time of the conquest, and for having neglected those that have been successively discovered. This reproach appears to be ill-founded to enlightened persons, who have an opportunity of examining nearly into these matters. Their opinion in general is, that the mines of this district are not sufficiently plentiful to defray the necessary expences of working them. We shall not pretend to decide upon this dispute. Nevertheless, if we do but just consider the passion which the Spaniards have always shewn for the kind of wealth, which, without any labour on their parts, cost nothing more than the blood of their slaves, we shall be induced to think, that nothing but a total impossibility, evinced by repeated experience, can have determined them to resist their natural propensity, and the urgent solicitations of the mother country.

In the country of Quito, the manufactures keep those persons employed, who in other parts are enervated by the mines. Many hats, cottons, and coarse woollen cloths are fabricated there. With the produce of the quantity of these articles, consumed in the different countries of South America, Quito paid for the wines, brandy, and oils, which it was not allowed to procure from it's
 only

only soil; for the dried and salt fish that came from the coasts; for the soap, made of goat's grease, that was supplied by Piura and Truscillo; for the crude or wrought iron that was wanted for it's manufactures; and for the small quantity that it was possible it should consume of the merchandise of our hemisphere. These resources have been considerably lessened, since manufactures of the same kind have been established in the neighbouring provinces; and especially since the superior cheapness of the European cottons and linens hath extended the use of them in a singular manner. Accordingly, the country is fallen into the most extreme state of misery.

It will never emerge from this situation by it's provisions. Not but that it's fields are in general covered with sugar canes, with all sorts of corn, with delicious fruits, and with numerous flocks. It would be difficult to find a soil so fertile, and cultivated with so little expence; but nothing that it furnishes can supply foreign markets. It's natural riches must be consumed upon the same territory that hath produced them. The bark is it's only production which it has hitherto been possible to export.

THE tree which yields this precious remedy hath a streight stem, and rises to a considerable height when left to itself. It's trunk and it's branches are proportioned to it's height. The leaves, which are opposite, and connected at their base by an intermediary membrane or stipula, are of an oval figure, spread out at the lower part, and acute at their apex; they are very smooth and of a beautiful green. From the axillæ of the upper leaves, which are smaller, arise clusters of flowers, resembling, at first sight, those of the lavender. Their calix, which is short, hath five divisions. The corolla forms an elongated

The bark comes from the province of Quiro. Reflections upon this remedy.

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elongated tube, blueish on the outside, and red within; it is filled with five stamina, spread out at the upper part, and divided into five lobes finely dentated. It bears upon a pistil, which being surmounted with a single style, occupies the fundus of the calix, and becomes with it a dry fruit, truncated at the upper extremity, and divided longitudinally into two half-pods full of seeds, and lined with a membranous expansion.

THIS tree grows upon the slope of mountains. The only precious part of it is the bark, known by its febrifuge qualities, and which requires no other preparation than that of drying. The thickest was preferred, till repeated analyses and experiments had shewn, that the thinnest possessed most virtue.

THE inhabitants distinguish three species, or rather three varieties of bark. The yellow and the red, which are in equal estimation, and differ only in the depth of their colour; and the white, which being of a much inferior quality, is not in great request. It is distinguished by its leaf being less smooth and rounder, its flower whiter, its seed larger, and its bark white on the outside. The bark of the good species is generally brown, brittle, and rough on its surface, with cracks upon it.

UPON the borders of the river Maragnon, the country of Jaen furnishes a great deal of white bark: but it was imagined, for a long time, that the yellow and the red were found no where but upon the territory of Loxa, a town founded, in 1546, by Captain Alonzo de Mercadillo. The most esteemed was that which grew at the distance of two leagues from this place, upon the mountain of Cajanuma; and no longer than fifty years ago, the merchants used to endeavour to
prove

prove by certificates, that the bark which they BOOK
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 sold came from that celebrated spot. In endeavouring to encrease the quantity collected, the old trees were destroyed, and the new ones were not suffered to come to their complete growth; so that the tallest of them are at present scarce three toises high. This scarcity occasioned the trees to be searched for in other places. At length the same tree was discovered at Riobamba, at Cuença, in the neighbourhood of Loxa; and still more recently at Bogota in the New Kingdom.

THE bark was known at Rome in 1639. The Jesuits, who had brought it there, distributed it gratis to the poor, and sold it at an exorbitant price to the rich. The year following, John de Vega, physician to a vice-queen of Peru, who had experienced the salutary effects of it, established it in Spain at a hundred crowns a pound*. This remedy soon acquired great reputation, which it maintained till the inhabitants of Loxa, not being able to supply the demands that were made on them, thought of mixing other barks with that for which there was so much demand. This fraud diminished the confidence that had been placed in the bark. The measures taken by the court of Madrid to remedy so dangerous an imposition, were not entirely successful. The late discoveries have been more effectual than authority, in putting a stop to this adulteration. Accordingly, the use of the remedy hath become more general, especially in England.

It is a generally received opinion, that the natives of the country were very anciently acquainted with the bark, and that they had recourse to it's virtues in intermittent fevers. It was simply

B O O K ^{VII} infused in water, and the liquor given to the patient to drink, free of the residuum. M Joseph de Jussieu taught them to make the extract from it, the use of which is much preferable to that of the bark in kind.

THIS Botanist, the most intelligent of those, whom their zeal for the improvement of natural history hath carried into the Spanish possessions in the New World, had formed a much more extensive plan. He went over most of the mountains of South America with incredible fatigues, and was just going to enrich Europe with the valuable discoveries he had made, when his papers were stolen from him. An excellent memory might partly have repaired this misfortune, but he was also deprived of this resource. There was great want of a physician and an engineer in Peru. M de Jussieu possessed all the knowledge which these two professions required, and the government of the country called upon him to employ his talents in this double capacity. These new employments were accompanied with so many contradictions, so much disgust and ingratitude, that this excellent man could not bear up against them. His mind was totally deranged, when, in 1771, he was embarked, without fortune, for a country which he had quitted six and thirty years. Neither the government which had sent him to the other hemisphere, nor that which had detained him there, condescended to take any care of his future destiny, which would indeed have been deplorable, had it not been for the tenderness of a brother, as respectable for his virtues as celebrated for his knowledge. The worthy nephews of M Bernard de Jussieu have inherited their uncle's attention to this unfortunate traveller, who died in 1779. May the conduct of a family, whose name is illustrious in the

the sciences, serve as a model to all those, BOOK
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who, either for their happiness or their misfortune, apply themselves to the cultivation of literature!

M. JOSEPH DE JUSSIEU, who found that the people had received with docility the instructions he had given them respecting the bark, endeavoured also to persuade them to improve by constant and regular attention, the wild cochineal which the country itself supplied their manufactures with, and the coarse cotton which they drew from Quixos and Macas. But his advice hath hitherto had no effect, whether it be that these productions have not been found susceptible of any improvement, or whether no pains have been taken to bring it about.

THE last conjecture will appear the most probable to those who have a proper idea of the masters of the country. Still more generally than the other Spanish Americans, they live in a state of silence from which nothing can rouse them, and in debaucheries which no motive can interrupt. These manners are more particularly the manners of the persons, whose residence, from birth, employments, or fortune, is fixed in the city of Quito, the capital of the province, and very agreeably built upon the declivity of the celebrated mountain of Pitchincha. Fifty thousand Masters, Indians, or Negroes, allured by these seducing examples, also infect this spot with their vices, and in particular carry their passion for rum, and for gaming, to an excess that is unknown in the other great cities of the New World.

BUT, in order to relieve our imagination from ^{so} such a number of distressing pictures, which, per ^{up}haps, have too much engaged our attention, let us ^{for} for a moment quit these bloody scenes, and let us ^{of} ^{into}

BOOK VII enter into Peru, fixing our contemplation upon those frightful mountains, where learned and bold astronomers went to measure the figure of the earth. Let us indulge ourselves in those sensations which they undoubtedly experienced, and which every traveller, learned or ignorant, must experience, wherever nature presents him with such a scene. Let us even be allowed to throw out some general conjectures respecting the formation of mountains.

At the sight of those enormous masses, which rise to such prodigious heights above the humble surface of the earth, where almost all mankind have fixed their residence, of those masses, which, on one spot are crowned with impenetrable and ancient forests, that have never resounded with the stroke of the hatchet, and which present, on another, nothing more than a barren and dreary surface, which in one country reign in sedate and silent majesty, that stops the cloud in it's course, and breaks the impetuosity of the wind, while in another, they keep the traveller at a distance from their summits by ramparts of ice that surround them, from the center of which volleys of flame issue forth, or frighten him who attempts to ascend them, with horrid and concealed caverns digged on each side masses, several of which give vent to impetuous torrents descending with dreadful noise from their open sides, or to rivers, streams, fountains, and boiling springs, all of them spreading their refreshing shade over the plains that surround them, and affording them a successive shelter against the heat of the sun, from the moment that luminary gilds their tops at the time of it's rising, till that of it's setting, at this aspect, I say, every man is first with astonishment, and the inquirer into nature is led into reflections

He asks himself, who it is that hath given birth B Ò O K
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here to Vesuvius, to Etna, to the Appenines, and here to the Cordelenias? These mountains, are they as old as the world, have they been produced in an instant, or is the stony particle that is detached from them more ancient than they are? Can they be the bones of a skeleton, of which the other terrestrial substances are the flesh? Are they distinct masses, or do they hold together by one great common trunk of which they are so many branches, and which serves as a foundation to themselves, and as a basis for every thing that covers them?

IF we agree with one philosopher: "The center of the earth being occupied by an immense reservoir of waters, the substance that contained them suddenly burst. The cataracts of the sky were immediately opened, and the whole globe was confounded and sunk under water. The fabulous account of chaos was renewed, and the earth did not begin to extricate itself from this state, till the time when the different materials precipitated, according to the laws of gravity, by which they were successively impelled; the layers of these several heterogeneous substances were heaped one upon another, and raised their summits above the surface of the waters, which went to dig a bed for themselves in the plains."

ANOTHER philosopher observes: "That these causes are insufficient to explain this phenomenon, without the intervention and approach of a comet, which he calls forth from the vast regions of space where these bodies lose themselves. The column of waters, he says, which this comet drew along with it, was joined by those which rose from the subterranean abyfs, and those which descended from the atmosphere.

BOOK VII "The action of the comet made them rise above
 " the highest mountains, which were already ex-
 " isting, and from the sediment of this deluge
 " they were reproduced."

A THIRD writer treats all these opinions as idle dreams, and says, "Let us cast our eyes around us, and we shall see the mountains rising from the very element that destroys them. It is fire which hardens the soft layers of the earth, it is that, which, assisted in it's expansion by air and by water, throws them up, and drives their summits into the clouds, it is that which bursts them and forms their immense caldrons. Every mountain is a volcano, which is either preparing, or hath ceased."

THESE opinions are again contradicted by a most eloquent modern writer, the charms of whose language, while I listen to it, scarce leave me at liberty to judge of his opinion. He says: "In the beginning there were no mountains. The surface of the globe was uniformly covered with waters, which were not, however, in a state of rest. The action of the satellite that accompanies the earth agitated them, even to their greatest depth, with the motion of ebb and flow which we now see impressed upon them. At each oscillatory motion, these waters dragged along with them a portion of sediment, which they deposited upon a preceding portion. It is from these deposits, continued through a long series of ages, that the layers of the earth have been formed, and the enormous masses, that astonish us, are these layers accumulated. Time is nothing to nature, and the slightest cause, acting uninterruptedly, is capable of producing the greatest effects. The imperceptible and continued ac-
 " tion

“ tion of the waters hath therefore formed the
 “ mountains, and it is the still more impercep-
 “ tible, and not less continued, action of a va-
 “ pour that softens them, and of a wind that
 “ dries them up, which lowers them from day to
 “ day, and will at length reduce them to a level
 “ with the plains. Then the waters will again
 “ be spread uniformly over the equal surface of
 “ the earth. Then the first phenomenon will
 “ be renewed, and who knows how often the
 “ mountains have been destroyed and repro-
 “ duced?”

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At these words the Observer Lehmann smiles, and, presenting to me the book of the Jewish Legislator, together with his own, says to me “ Re-
 “ spect this book, and condescend to cast thine
 “ eyes upon mine.” Lehmann hath explained, in his third volume of his Art of Mines, his ideas upon the formation of the layers of the earth, and upon the productions of mountains. His system is founded on constant and repeated observations made by himself, with a very uncommon degree of sagacity, and with a labour, the assiduity of which we can scarce conceive. They comprehend the space from the frontiers of Poland to the borders of the Rhine. The analogy which renders them applicable to several other regions, recommends the knowledge of them to men who are studious of natural history, and although he attributes the formation of the layers of the earth to a deluge, the facts with which he supports his arguments are not the less certain, nor his discoveries the less interesting.

He distinguishes three kinds of mountains. The antediluvian, or primitive, the post diluvian, and the modern. The first, which are of different elevation, are the highest. They are seldom found distinct, but are usually formed into chains.
 The

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The declivity of them is steep. They are surrounded on all sides by the post-diluvian mountains, or such as are composed of layers. The substance of them is more homogeneous; the portions of them less different, their beds are always perpendicular, and thicker. Their roots descend to a depth which is still unknown. The ores they contain, run in the longitudinal direction of the mountain. Those in the post-diluvian mountains are disposed in layers: which are formed of different substances. The last of these, or that which is at the basis, is always of coal. The first; or that which is nearest the summit, always furnishes salt springs. The mountains never fail to terminate in the former. They supply copper, lead, quicksilver, iron, and even silver, but in leaves, and capillaceous. But they would deceive our avidity if we expected to find gold in them. The mountains which produce this metal are the work of a deluge.

THE modern mountains produced by fire, by water, and by an infinite number of various and recent accidents, exhibit in their internal parts, nothing but broken layers, a confused mixture of all kinds of substances, and all the marks of subversion and disorder.

It is in vain that nature had concealed the precious metals in the midst of these hard and most compact masses: our cupidity hath broken them. This circumstance, however, would not call for our censure, if we could say of the men employed in these dreadful labours, what we read of them in Cassiodorus: "They go down poor into the mines, and come out of them wealthy. They enjoy a kind of riches which no man dares to take away from them. They are the only persons whose fortune is neither sullied by rapine or meanness."

EUROPEANS,

EUROPEANS, reflect upon what this judicious BOOK
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writer adds : " To acquire gold by sacrificing
" men, is a crime. To go in search of it across
" the perils of the sea, is a folly. To amass it
" by corruption and vices, is base. The only
" profits that are just and honest, are those that
" are acquired without injury to any person ; and
" we never can possess, without remorse, what we
" have obtained at the expence of other men's
" happiness "

AND you, in order to have gold, you have gone across the seas. In order to have gold, you have invaded other countries. In order to have gold, you have massacred the greatest part of the inhabitants. In order to have gold, you have precipitated into the bowels of the earth those whom your daggers had spared. In order to have gold, you have introduced upon the earth the infamous trade of mankind and slavery. In order to have gold, you repeat the same crimes every day. May the chimerical idea of Lazarro Moro be realized ; and may subterraneous flames set on fire at once all those mountains of which you have made so many dungeons, where innocence expires, for several ages past !

THIS curse would first fall upon the Cordilleras, or Andes, which cut almost the whole of America through it's length, and the different branches of which extend themselves irregularly in it's breadth. It is particularly under the Line, and at Peru, that these mountains awe us by their majestic appearance. Through the enormous heaps of snow that cover the most considerable of them, it may easily be discerned, that they formerly were volcanos. The clouds of smoke, and gusts of flame, which still issue from some of them, cannot allow us to have the least doubt respecting the eruptions. Chimborazo, the

Natural
organiza-
tion of Pe-
ru, pro-
perly so
called.

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the highest of them, and which is near three thousand two hundred and twenty toises above the level of the sea, is more than one-third higher than the Peak of Teneriffe, the loftiest mountain of the ancient hemisphere. The Pit-chincha, and the Caracón, which have principally served for taking the observations upon the figure of the earth, have only two thousand four hundred and thirty, and two thousand four hundred and seventy toises; and it is, however, at this height that the most intrepid travellers have been obliged to stop. Eternal snows have hitherto rendered summits of greater height inaccessible.

A PLAIN, which is from thirty to fifty leagues in breadth, and is raised one thousand nine hundred and forty-nine toises above the level of the ocean, serves as the basis to these astonishing mountains. Part of this vast space is occupied by lakes more or less considerable. That of Titicaca, which receives ten or twelve large rivers, and several small ones, is seventy toises in depth, and fourscore leagues in circumference. In the midst of it there rises an island, where the legislators of Peru pretended to have received their birth. They owed it, as they said, to the Sun, who had prescribed to them to establish his worship, to raise mankind from a state of barbarism, and to give them beneficent laws. This fable rendered the spot venerable, and one of the most august temples in the empire was constructed upon it. Pilgrims resorted to it in crowds from the provinces, with offerings of gold, silver, and jewels. It is a tradition generally received in the country, that at the arrival of the Spaniards, the priests and the inhabitants threw all these riches into the waters, as they had before done at Cusco, in another lake, six leagues to the south of that celebrated capital. From most of the lakes

lakes there are torrents issuing; which, in process of time, have digged ravines of a tremendous depth. At the summit of them the mines are usually found in a soil generally arid. It is a little below this that the corn grows, and the cattle feed: In the bottom the sugar, the fruits, and the maize are cultivated.

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THE coast, which is of an immense length, and from eight to twenty leagues in breadth, which extends from the plain we have been speaking of to the sea, and which is known to us by the name of the Valley's, is nothing but a heap of sand. Solitude and eternal barrenness seem as if they were intended to belong to this ungrateful soil.

NATURE varies, and in a very remarkable manner, in this uneven territory. The most elevated places are perpetually covered with snow. After this come the rocks and naked sands. Beneath these some mosses begin to show themselves. Lower down is the *Ichu*, a plant which they burn, somewhat resembling rushes; and which grows longer and stronger in proportion as one descends. At length the trees make their appearance, to the number of three species, particular to these mountains, and which, all of them, announce in their structure, and their foliage, the severity of the climate that produces them. The most useful of these trees is the *Cassia*. It is weighty; hath some substance, and is lasting; and these qualities have occasioned it to be destined to the labours of the mines. These large vegetable productions are not to be met with under a milder sky, and they are only replaced by a small number of others of a different quality. There would not even be any one species in the vallies, if some had not been conveyed there, which have become naturalized.

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Circum-
stances in
which the
moun-
tains,
plains,
and val-
lies of Pe-
ru differ
from each
other.

IN this region, the air hath an evident influence upon the constitution of the inhabitants. Those of the most elevated districts are subject to asthma, pleurisy, to pulmonary complaints, and to rheumatisms. These diseases, which are dangerous to all individuals that are seized with them, are commonly mortal to any one that hath contracted venereal maladies, or is added to strong liquors; and this is unfortunately the usual state of those who are born in these climates, or have been led into them by avarice.

These calamities do not affect the inferior mountains; but other scourges, still more fatal, are substituted to them. Putrid and intermittent fevers, unknown in the countries we have been mentioning, are habitual there. They are so easily caught, that travellers are afraid to come near the places that are infected with them. They are frequently so contagious, that not a single man would escape the infection, if the inhabitants did not abandon their villages, in order to return to them again when a fresh season hath purified them. It was not thus, in the time of the Incas. But since the Spaniards have introduced the sugar canes into the narrow gorges of the mountains, where the air circulates with difficulty, there arise, from the moistened soil which this cultivation requires, infectious vapours, which, being heated by the rays of the burning sun, become fatal.

THE tertian, and other intermittent fevers, are scarce less common or less obstinate in the vallies than in the gorges of the mountains; but they are infinitely less dangerous, they are seldom attended with fatal consequences, except in the country places where no helps are to be had, and where precautions are neglected.

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To this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, the cavities and deep recesses of which re-echo each other's noises. The dogs answer these previous tokens of a general disorder of nature, by howling in an extraordinary manner. The animals stop, and, by a natural instinct, spread out their legs that they may not fall. Upon these indications, the inhabitants instantly run out of their houses, and fly to search, in the enclosures of public places, or in the fields, an asylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the sudden darkness of an unexpected night, every thing combines to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity which subverts every thing, by the excruciating tortures of the imagination, which is distressed and confounded, and loses, in the contemplation of this disorder, the thought and courage to remedy it.

THE diversity of aspects under which volcanos have presented themselves, to one of our most indefatigable and intelligent observers, hath pointed out to him different periods, separated from each other by intervals of time so considerable, that the first formation of our planet is thrown back by them to a degree of antiquity at which our imagination is startled. At the first of these periods, the volcanos throw out from their summits fire, smoke, and ashes, and pour out torrents of lava from their sides that are laid open. At the second, they are all of them extinguished, and exhibit nothing but an immense caldron. At the third, the air, the rain, the wind, the cold, and the lime, have destroyed the caldron or crater, and nothing but a hillock remains. At the fourth period, this hillock, deprived of its covering, discovers a kind of mud, which being destroyed by time, leaves nothing but the place

place where the mountain and volcano have existed; and this state constitutes a fifth period. From the center of this place causeways of lava are extended to a distance; and these causeways, whether entire or broken, or reduced into separate fragments, are still as many other periods, between each of which we may insert as many years, as many ages, or as many thousands of ages as we choose. One thing however is certain, that one of these periods, whichever of them we may choose, is not connected, in the memory of man, with that which succeeds it in the course of nature. The principle, therefore, that from nothing nothing can be produced; and the destruction of beings, which by being changed into others, shew us that nothing is annihilated, seem to announce an eternity which hath preceded, an eternity which will follow, and the co-existence of the Great Architect with his wonderful work.

THE climate exhibits some very remarkable singularities in the Upper Peru. The inhabitants experience on the same day, sometimes in the same hour, and always in a very short space of time, the temperature of the two opposite zones. Those who come there from the valleys, are pierced on their arrival with severe cold, which they cannot get the better of either by fire, by motion, or by adding to their clothing; but the impression of which ceases to be disagreeable, after a residence of a month or three weeks. The voyagers who come there for the first time, are tormented with the symptoms of sea sickness, with more or less violence, in proportion as they have suffered from it on the ocean. But, whatever may be the reason of it, men are not exposed to this accident in all parts; for not one of the astronomers, who measured the figure of the

BOOK VII. earth upon the mountains of Quito, were attacked with it.

OUR astonishment is equally, if not more, excited in the valleys. This country, though very near the equator, enjoys a delicious temperature. The four seasons of the year are evidently marked, and yet neither of them can be called troublesome. The winter season is the most sensibly felt. This hath been attempted to be accounted for from the winds of the South Pole, which carry the effects of the snows and ice over which they have passed. They preserve it only in part, because they blow under the influence of a thick fog, which at that time covers the earth. These gross vapours do not indeed rise regularly 'till about noon: but it is seldom they are dissipated. The Sun generally remains so much clouded, that it's rays, which sometimes make their appearance, can only mitigate the cold in a very slight degree.

WHATEVER may be the cause of so constant a winter under the torrid zone, it is certain that it never rains, or that it rains only every two or three years in the Lower Peru.

NATURAL philosophy hath exerted it's efforts to discover the cause of a phenomenon so extraordinary. May it not be attributed to the south-west wind, which prevails there the greatest part of the year; and to the prodigious height of the mountains, the summit of which is covered with eternal ice?

THE country situated between both, being continually cooled on one side, and continually heated on the other, maintains so equal a temperature, that the clouds which rise can never be condensed so far as to be dissolved into water.

RAINS,

RAINS, however, and even daily rains, would be necessary, to communicate some degree of fertility to the coasts which extend from Tumbez to Ima, that is, throughout a space of two hundred and sixty four leagues. The sands are in general so barren, that there is not a single herb to be seen, except in parts which it is possible to water, and these do not often occur. There is not a single spring throughout the whole of Lower Peru, rivers are not frequent there, and those which we do meet with have, for the most part, water in them only for six or seven months in the year. They are torrents issuing from the lakes, of greater or less magnitude, that are formed in the Cordelirias, which only flow over a small space, and are dried up during the summer. In the times of the Incas, these precious waters were carefully collected, and, by the assistance of several canals, dispersed over a large surface which they fertilized. The Spaniards have availed themselves of these labours. Their villages and towns have been erected on the places where the huts of the Indians were, which, perhaps, for this reason, were less numerous in the Lower Peru than on the mountains. The valleys which lead from the capital of the empire to Chili, have a great resemblance with those we have spoken of, but they are in some places more susceptible of cultivation.

NOTWITHSTANDING these defects of natural organization, the region we have been describing hath seen a flourishing empire arise in the midst of it. Its population cannot reasonably be called in question, when we behold self evident proofs that this happy people had covered with their colonies all the provinces that they had conquered, when we attend to the astonishing number of men engaged in the service of government, and

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The few
Peruvians
who have
escaped the
sword or
tyranny of
the conquerors
are fallen
into the
most de-
graded
and brutal
state

BOOK and deriving their subsistence from the state
 VII Such a variety of hands and levers employed in
 moving the political machine, necessarily imply
 a considerable degree of population, that may
 be enabled to maintain, with the productions of
 the earth, a very numerous class of the inhabit-
 ants, who are not themselves concerned in agri-
 culture

By what fatality, then, hath it happened, that
 Peru is now such a desert? By tracing things to
 their origin, we find that those who conquered the
 coast of the South Sea, being rustians, without
 birth, education, and principle, originally com-
 mitted greater enormities than the conquerors of
 Mexico. The mother country was, a longer
 time before she checked their ferocity, which was
 continually fomented by those long and cruel
 civil wars that succeeded the conquest. A more
 heavy and regular system of oppression was after-
 wards established, it had prevailed in the other
 countries of the New World, less distant from
 Europe.

UNIVERSAL discouragement was the necessary
 consequence of this abominable conduct. Ac-
 cordingly, the natives of the country grew dis-
 gusted of the state of society, and of the fatigues
 it brings along with it. They continue in the
 same disagreeable dispositions, and would not
 even give themselves the least trouble to culti-
 vate subsistence for themselves, were they not
 compelled to it by the government. This com-
 pulsion influences their behaviour. All the inha-
 bitants of one community, men, women, and
 children, unite themselves to till and sow a field.
 These labours, which are interrupted every in-
 stant by dancing and feasting, are carried on by
 the sound of various instruments. The harvest
 of the maize, and of the other grain, is gathered
 with

with the same carelessness, and accompanied with the same pleasures. These people are not more anxious to procure themselves clothes. In vain hath it been attempted to inspire them with better dispositions, and more suitable to the good of the empire. Authority hath been unavailing against customs which it's tyranny had given rise to, and which were kept up by it's injustice.

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THE Peruvians, all of them without exception, are an instance of that profound stupidity into which it is in the power of tyranny to plunge men. They are fallen into a listless and universal indifference. Can it be possible that these people should have any kind of attachment, whose religion once elevated the soul, and from whom the most abject slavery hath taken away every sentiment of greatness and glory? The riches, which nature hath scattered at their feet, do not tempt them; and they are even insensible to honour. They are whatever one chooses, without any ill humour, or choice, vassals or caciques, or *mitayos*, the objects of distinction or of public derision. The spring of all their passions is broken. That of fear itself hath often no effect on them, through the little attachment they have to life. They intoxicate themselves, and dance; these are all the pleasures they have, when they are able to forget their misery. Indolence is their predominant habit. *I am not hungry*, they say to the person who would pay them for their labour.

THE void that had been made in the population of Peru, and the indolence of the few men that remained there, determined the conquerors to introduce a foreign race; but this mode of substitution, which was dictated by the refinement of European barbarity, was more prejudicial to Africa, than useful to the country of the

BOOK VII. Incas. Avarice did not derive from these new slaves all the advantages it had flattered itself with. The government, ever intent on laying taxes upon vices and virtues; upon industry and idleness, upon good and bad projects, upon the liberty of exercising oppressions, and the permission of being exempted from them, made a monopoly of this base traffic. It was necessary to receive the Negroes from the hands of a rival, or an enemy, to carry them to the place of their destination, through immense seas and unwholesome climates, and to defray the expences of several very dear markets. Nevertheless, this species of men hath multiplied more at Peru than at Mexico. There is also a much greater number of Spaniards there, for the following reasons :

At the time when the first conquests were made, when emigrations were most frequent, the country of the Incas had a much greater reputation for riches than New Spain ; and, in reality, for half a century, much more considerable treasures were brought away from it. The desire of partaking of them must necessarily draw thither, as was really the case, a greater number of Castilians. Though they almost all went over there with the hope of returning to their country to enjoy the fortune they might acquire, yet the majority of them settled in the colony. They were induced to this by the softness of the climate, and the goodness of the provisions. They also supposed they should enjoy a great share of independence in a region so remote from the mother-country.

Present
state of
Peru.

We must now examine to what degree of prosperity Peru hath been raised by the united labours of so many different people.

THE immense coast that extends from Panamá to Tombez, and which, in 1718, was detached from Peru to be incorporated in the New Kingdom,

dom, is one of the most miserable regions of the BOOK
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globe. A great part of it is occupied by spacious and numerous morasses. The part that is not covered with these, is deluged for six months in the year, with rains that fall down in torrents. From the midst of these stagnating and unwholesome waters, forests arise, that are as ancient as the world, and so much choked up with *lianes*, or *oziers*, that the *strongest and most intrepid man* cannot penetrate into them. Thick and frequent fogs throw a dark veil over these hideous countries. None of the productions of the Old Hemisphere can grow in this ungrateful soil, and those even of the New Hemisphere do not thrive much. And, indeed, there is but a small number of savages to be seen here, and those, for the most part, wandering; and so few Spaniards, that it might almost be said there were none. The coast is fortunately terminated by the gulph of Guayaquil, where nature is in a less degenerate state.

THE second town which the Spaniards built in Peru, was raised upon this river, in 1533. The Indians did not long suffer this monument, erected against their liberty, to subsist; but it was rebuilt four years after by Orellana. It was not placed in the bay of Charopte as it had been at first. The back of a mountain, at the distance of five or six hundred toises from the river, was preferred. The exigencies of commerce afterwards determined the merchants to fix their dwellings upon the side of the river itself. The space which separated them from their former habitation, hath been gradually filled up; so that at present the two quarters of the town are entirely united. The houses are in general built of wood, both in the lower and in the upper town. Formerly, they were all covered with thatch; but
12
this

B O O K this practice hath been abolished gradually by
VII. the orders of government, who have thought this regulation necessary, to prevent the accidents of fire, so common in these countries. Guayaquil was lately an entirely open place. It is at present defended by three forts, guarded only by the inhabitants. These are large beams disposed in palisades. Upon this soil, which is always damp, and under water a great part of the year, a sort of wood, which never rots, is preferable to the best constructed works either in earth or in stone.

It is a circumstance well known at present, that on the coast of Guayaquil, as well as on that of Guatemala, are found those snails which yield the purple dye so celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have supposed to have been lost. The shell that contains them is fixed to rocks that are watered by the sea. It is of the size of a large nut. The juice may be extracted from the animal in two ways. Some persons kill the animal after they have taken it out of the shell; they then press it from the head to the tail with a knife, and separating from the body that part in which the liquor is collected, they throw away the rest. When this operation, repeated upon several of the snails, hath yielded a certain quantity of the juice, the thread that is to be dyed is dipped in it, and the business is done. The colour, which is at first as white as milk, becomes afterwards green, and does not turn purple 'till the thread is dry.

Those who do not chuse this method, draw the animal partly out of it's shell, and by pressure oblige it to discharge it's liquor. This operation is repeated four different times, but at each time with less advantage. If it be continued, the animal dies, from the loss of that fluid which

was the principle of it's life, and which it hath no longer the power to renew. BOOK
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WE know of no colour that can be compared to the one we have been speaking of, either in lustre or in permanency. It succeeds better with cotton, than with woollen, linen, or silk.

IT is little more than an object of curiosity; but Guayaquil supplies the neighbouring provinces with oxen, mules, salt and fish. It furnishes a great quantity of cocoa to Mexico and to Europe. It is the universal dockyard of the South Sea, and might partly become that of the mother-country. We know of no spot upon the earth more abundant in wood for masts and for ship-building. The hemp and the pitch which it is destitute of, is procured from Chili and from Guatimala.

THIS town is the necessary staple of all the trade which the Lower Peru, Panama, and Mexico keep up with the country of Quito. All the commodities which these countries exchange, pass through the hands of it's merchants. The largest of the ships stop at the island of Puna, six or seven leagues distant from the place. The others can go thirty-five leagues up the river as far as Caracol.

NOTWITHSTANDING these several means of prosperity, Guayaquil, the population of which consists of twenty thousand souls, is far from being wealthy. The fortunes of it's inhabitants have been successively destroyed nine times, by fires, and by pirates, who have twice sacked the town. Those fortunes, which have been acquired since these fatal periods, have not continued in the country. A climate, where the heat is intolerable the whole year, and the rains incessant for six months; where dangerous and noisome insects do not allow any tranquillity; where distempers, prevailing

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prevailing in the most opposite degrees of temperature, appear to be united; where one lives in perpetual dread of losing one's sight; such a climate is by no means proper to fix the residence of it's inhabitants. Such persons are only seen here, as have not acquired sufficient wealth to enable them to remove elsewhere, and spend their days in indolence and pleasure.

ON quitting the territory of Guayaquil, we enter into the vallies of Peru. They occupy four hundred leagues of the coast, and upon this extent there are a great number of bad harbours, among which chance hath placed one or two that are tolerably good. Throughout this vast space, there is not the vestige of a single road; and it is necessary to travel over it upon mules in the night-time, because the reverberation of the Sun renders these sands unpassable in the day. At the intervals of thirty or forty leagues, we find the small towns of Piura, of Peyta, of Santa, of Pisco, of Nascar, of Ica, of Moquequa, and of Arica, and in the intermediate space, a small number of hamlets and villages. Throughout this whole extent there are but three places worthy of being called towns; Truxillo, which hath nine thousand inhabitants; Arequipa, which hath forty thousand, and Lima, which hath fifty-four thousand. These several settlements have been formed wherever there was the least appearance of land fit for cultivation, and wherever the waters were capable of fertilizing a slime naturally barren

THE country produces the fruits peculiar to the climate, and most of those in Europe. The culture of maize, of pimento, and of cotton, which was found established there, was not neglected, and that of wheat, barley, cassava, potatoes, sugar, and of the olive and vine, was set

on

on foot there. The goat hath thriven v̄ery well; B O O K:
 but the sheep have degenerated, and their wool VII.
 is extremely coarse. Throughout the whole of
 the valleys there is but one mine, which is that of
 Huantajaha.

In the Upper Peru, at the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, stands Cusco, built by the first of the Incas, on a very uneven territory, and upon the declivity of several hills. It was at first only a small village, which in process of time became a considerable city, divided into as many quarters as there were nations incorporated with the empire. Each of these nations were allowed to follow their ancient customs; but they were all of them obliged to worship the brilliant constellation that fertilizes the globe. There was no edifice that had any grandeur, elegance, or convenience, because the people were ignorant of the first elements of architecture. Even the temple of the Sun itself could not be distinguished from the other public or private buildings, unless by its extent, and by the profusion of metals with which it was ornamented.

To the north of this capital was a kind of citadel, built with much care, labour, and expence. The Spaniards long spoke of this monument of Peruvian industry with a spirit of admiration that imposed upon all Europe. The ruins of this fortress have been seen by enlightened persons, and the marvellous hath disappeared. It hath been found, that this fortification had scarce any advantage over the other works of the same kind erected in the country, except that of being built with stones of a more considerable size.

At the distance of four leagues from the city, are the country-houses of the great, and of the Incas, in the wholesome and delicious valley of
 Yucai.

BOOK VII. *Yucal.* There it was that they went to recover their health, or to relax from the fatigues of government.

AFTER the conquest, the place scarce preserved any thing but it's name. There were other edifices, other inhabitants, other occupations, other manners, other prejudices, and another religion. Thus the fatality which subverts the earth, the sea, empires, and nations; which throws successively upon all parts of the globe the light of the arts, and the darkness of ignorance; which changes the residence of men, and transfers their opinions, from one place to another, as marine productions are pushed upon the coast by the impulse of the winds and the currents; that impenetrable and singular destiny, I say, ordained that Europeans, with all the appendages of their crimes, and monks, with all the prejudices of their faith, should come to reign and repose in those walls, where the virtuous Incas had for so long a time promoted the felicity of mankind, and where the Sun was so solemnly adored. Who, therefore, can foresee, what kind of race, or form of worship, will one day arise upon the ruins of our kingdoms and our altars? Cusco reckons twenty-six thousand inhabitants under it's new masters.

IN the midst of these mountains other towns are still to be seen. Chupuisaca, or La Plata, which hath thirteen thousand souls; Potosi, twenty-five thousand; Oropesa, seventeen thousand; La Paz, twenty thousand; Guancavelica, eight thousand; and Huamanga, eighteen thousand five hundred.

BUT let it be well observed, that none of these towns were erected in regions which presented a fertile soil, copious harvests, excellent pastures, a mild and salubrious climate, and all the conveniences of life. These places, which had
hitherto

hitherto been so well cultivated by a numerous and flourishing people, were now totally disregarded. Very soon they exhibited only a deplorable picture of a horrid desert; and this wildness must have been more melancholy and hideous, than the dreary aspect of the earth before the origin of societies. The sight of confusion is not always displeasing; it sometimes astonishes: that of destruction afflicts us. The traveller, who was led by accident or curiosity into these desolate plains, could not forbear abhorring the barbarous and bloody authors of these devastations, while he reflected that it was not owing to the cruel illusions of glory and to the fanaticism of conquest, but to the stupid and abject desire of gold, that they had sacrificed so much more real treasure, and so numerous a population.

THIS insatiable thirst of gold, which neither attended to subsistence, safety, nor policy, was the only motive for establishing new settlements, some of which have been kept up, while several have decayed, and others have been formed in their stead. The fate of them all hath corresponded with the discovery, progress, or decay of the mines to which they were subordinate.

FEWER errors have been committed in the means of procuring provisions. The natives had hitherto lived scarcely on any thing else but maize, fruits, and pulse, for which they had used no other seasoning except salt and pimento. Their liquors, which were made from different roots, were more diversified, of these the *chica* was the most usual; it is made from maize soaked in water, and taken out of the vessel when it begins to sprout. It is dried in the sun, then parched a little, and at last ground. The flour, after it has been well kneaded, is put with water

into

BOOK VII. into 'large pitchers. The fermentation may be expected in two or three days, and must not continue longer.' The great inconvenience of this drink, which, when used immoderately, infallibly intoxicates, is, that it will not keep more than seven or eight days without turning sour. Its taste is nearly that of the most indifferent kind of cyder.

ALL the cultivations established in the empire, were solely intended to supply articles of primary necessity. The only thing cultivated for luxury was the coca; this is a shrub which ramifies much, and seldom grows higher than three or four feet. Its leaves are alternate, oval, entire, and marked in their longitudinal direction with three costæ, two of which are not very apparent. The flowers, collected in clusters along the stems, are small, composed of a calix, with five divisions, and five petals, furnished at their base with a scale. The pistil, surrounded with ten stamina, and surmounted with three styles, is changed into a small, reddish, oblong berry, which, as it dries becomes triangular, and contains one nut filled with a single kernel.

THE leaf of the coca, was the delight of the Peruvians. They chewed it, after having mixed it with an earth of a light grey colour, and of a saponaceous quality, which they called *Toura*; it was, in their opinion, one of the most salutary restoratives they could take. Their taste for the coca hath so little altered, that, if those among them who are buried in the mines were to be deprived of it, they would cease to work, whatever severities might be employed to compel them to it.

THE conquerors were not satisfied either with the liquors or with the food of the people they had subdued. They naturalized freely, and with success,

success, all the corn, all the fruits, and all the quadrupeds of the ancient hemisphere, in the new one. The mother country, which had proposed to supply it's colonies with wine, oil, and brandy, wished, at first, to forbid the culture of the vine and of the olive tree; but it was soon found, that it would be impossible to convey regularly to Peru, articles liable to so many accidents, and of so considerable a bulk; and they were permitted to multiply them there as much as was consistent with the climate and their wants.

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AFTER they had provided for a better and a greater choice of subsistence, the next care of the Spaniards was to have a dress more commodious and more agreeable than that of the Peruvians. These were, however, better clothed than any other American nation. They owed this superiority to the advantage which they alone possessed, of having the lama and the pacos, domestic animals, which served them for this use.

THE lama is an animal four feet high, and five or six in length; of which it's neck alone takes up one half. It's head is well made, with large eyes, a long snout, and thick lips. It's mouth hath no incisors in the upper jaw. It's feet are cloven like those of the ox, but furnished with a spur behind, which enables it to fasten itself on the sides of steep places, where it delights to climb. It's wool, which is short on it's back; but grows long on it's sides and under the belly, constitutes part of it's usefulness. Though very salacious, these animals copulate with great difficulty. In vain the female prostrates herself to receive the male, and invites him by her sighs; they are sometimes a whole day groaning, grumbling, and ineffectually attempting enjoyment; if men do not help them to fulfil the desire of nature.

Singularities respecting the lama, the pacos, the guanaco, and the vicuña.

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nature. Thus several of our domestic animals, that are confined, broken, forced, and restrained in all their freest motions and sensations, lose, through ineffectual efforts, the principles of generation while they are confined in stables, if care and attention do not supply the place of that liberty of which they have been deprived. The females of the lama have only two dugs, never more than two young, commonly but one, which follows the dam immediately after it's birth; it is of a very quick growth, and it's life of a short duration. At three years old it propagates it's species, preserves it's vigour 'till twelve, then decays and dies about the age of fifteen.

THE lamas are employed as mules, in carrying on their backs loads of about a hundred weight. They move with a slow but firm pace at the rate of four or five leagues a-day, in countries that are impracticable to other animals; descending through gullies, and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they rest of their own accord for twenty-four hours.

NATURE hath formed them for the people of that climate where they are produced, mild, regular, and phlegmatic, like the Peruvians. When they stop, they bend their knees and stoop their body in such a manner as not to discompose their burden. As soon as they hear their driver whistle, they rise with the same ease, and proceed on their journey. They browse on the grass they find in their way, and chew the cud at night, even when asleep, reclining on their breast, with their feet doubled under their belly. They are *neither dispirited by fasting nor drudgery, while they have any strength remaining; but, when they are totally exhausted or fall under their burden, it is to no purpose to harass and beat them;* they

they will continue obstinately striking their heads BOOK
VII. against the ground, 'till they kill themselves. They never defend themselves either with their feet or their teeth; and in the height of their indignation content themselves with only spitting in the face of those who insult them.

THE pacos is to the lama what the ass is to the horse, a subordinate species, smaller in size, with shorter legs, and a flat snout; but of the same disposition, the same manners, and the same constitution, as the lama; made, like the lama, to carry burdens, but more obstinate in it's caprices, perhaps because it is weaker.

THESE animals are so much the more useful to man, as their service costs him nothing. Their thick fur supplies the place of a pack-saddle. The little grass, which they find along the road suffices for their food, and furnishes them with a plentiful and fresh saliva, which exempts them from the necessity of drinking.

IN the times of the Incas, the people shewed a great attachment to these useful animals, and this spirit of benevolence hath been continued. Before they are employed in the labours for which they are adapted, the Peruvians assemble their relations, friends, and neighbours. As soon as the company are met, dancing and festivals begin, which last two days and two nights. From time to time the guests pay a visit to the lamas, and the pacos, speak to them in the most affectionate terms, and bestow upon them all the caresses they would upon the person that was most dear to them. They then begin to make use of them, but do not strip them of the ribbands and bands with which their heads are ornamented.

AMONG the lamas, there are some of a wild species called guanacos, which are stronger, more sprightly,

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people fastened them with gold and silver clasps; their wives with pins made of these metals, ornamented at the top with emeralds; and the common people with thorns. In hot countries, the mantles of persons in office were made of fine cotton, and dyed with various colours. The common people in the same climate, had no clothing at all, except a girdle that was composed of the filaments of the bark of a tree, and served to cover those parts which nature intended should be concealed.

THE pride and the habits of the conquerors, which generally made inconvenient or contemptible to them, all the customs established in the countries upon which their avarice or their fury was exerted, would not allow them to adopt the dress of the Peruvians. They required from Europe every thing that country could furnish most complete and most magnificent in linens and cottons. In process of time, the treasures that had been at first pillaged, were exhausted; and it was not possible to acquire more, without making considerable advances, and without entering upon labours, the profit of which was doubtful. Then these extravagances diminished. The ancient manufactures of cotton, which a system of oppression had reduced almost to nothing, were revived. Others were set on foot of a different kind; and their number hath successively increased.

WITH the wool of the vicuna they make, in several provinces, stockings, handkerchiefs, and scarfs. This wool, mixed with that of the sheep imported thither from Europe, which hath exceedingly degenerated, serves for carpets, and makes also tolerably good cloth. This last kind alone is employed to make serges, and other coarse stuffs.

THE manufactures subservient to luxury are established at Arequipa, Cusco, and Lima. From these three large towns come all the jewels and diamonds, all the plate for the use of private persons, and also for the churches. These manufactures are but coarsely wrought, and mixed with a great deal of copper. There is seldom more taste or perfection discovered in their gold, silver, and other laces and embroideries, which their manufactures also produce.

OTHER hands are employed in gilding leather, in making, with wood and ivory, pieces of inlaid work and sculpture, and in drawing figures on the marble that hath been lately found at Cuença, or on linen imported from the Old Hemisphere. These productions of imperfect art, serve for ornaments for houses, palaces, and temples: the drawing of them is not absolutely bad, but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. This species of industry belongs almost exclusively to the Indians settled at Cusco, who are less oppressed, and less degenerated upon this first scene of their glory, than throughout the rest of the empire. If these Americans, to whom nature hath denied the genius of invention, but who are excellent imitators, had been supplied with able masters, and excellent models, they would have become good copyists. At the close of the last century, some works of a Peruvian painter, named Michael de St. Jaques, were brought to Rome, and the connoisseurs discovered marks of genius in them.

THESE descriptions excite the complaints of some of my readers. I hear them say: How can we be interested in these idle details, with which you have troubled us so long? Speak to us of the gold, and of the silver of Peru. In this so distant region of the New World, I have

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sprightly, and more nimble, than the domestic lamas; running like the stag, and climbing like the wild goat, covered with short wool, and of a fawn colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds, to the number sometimes of two or three hundred. If they see a man, they survey him at first with an air of greater astonishment than curiosity, then snuffing up the air and neighing, they run all together to the summit of the mountains. These animals seek the North, travel on the ice, and fix themselves above the height of the snow; they are vigorous, and appear in vast numbers on the tops of the Cordeliras, but small in size, and seldom met with at the bottom of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither hunters nor dogs can ever catch them.

THE vicunas, a species of wild pacos, delight still more in the cold, and on the summits of mountains. They are so timid, that their fear itself makes them an easy prey to the hunter. Men surround them and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which they have suspended pieces of cloth or linen, on cords, that are raised three or four feet from the ground. These rags, being agitated by the wind, strike such terror into them, that they stand crowded and squeezed one against another, suffering themselves to be killed rather than fly. But if there happens to be, among the vicunas, a guanaco, which, being more adventurous, leaps over the cords, they follow it and escape.

ALL these animals belong so peculiarly to South America, and especially to the highest Cordeliras, that they are never seen on the side of Mexico, where the height of these mountains is considerably diminished. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but they have

have all failed. The Spaniards, without reflecting that these animals, even in Peru itself, sought the coldest parts, have transported them to the burning plains of Andalusia. They might, possibly, have succeeded on the Alps or the Pyrennees. This conjecture of M. de Buffon, to whom we are indebted for so many useful and profound observations on animals, is worthy the attention of statesmen, whose steps ought always to be guided by the lights of philosophy.

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THE flesh of the lamas and pacos may be eaten when they are young. The skin of the old ones serves the Indians for shoes, and the Spaniards for harness. The guanacos may also serve for food. But the vicunas are only sought after for their fleece, and for the bezoar they produce.

THE wool of these animals is not equally good. That of the lama, and the pacos, which are domestic animals, is much inferior to that of the guanaco, and still more to that of the vicuna. There is even a great difference in the same animal. The wool of the back is commonly of a clear, light colour, and of moderate quality; under the belly it is white and fine, and white and coarse upon the thighs. Its price in Spain, is from four to five livres * a pound, according to its quality.

THESE fleeces were usefully employed at Peru, before the empire had submitted to a foreign yoke. The inhabitants of Cusco made tapestry of them for the use of the court. This tapestry was ornamented with flowers, birds, and trees, which were tolerably well imitated. It served also to make mantles, which were worn over a shirt of cotton. It was customary to tuck them up, in order to have the arms free. The principal

* From 3s. 4d. to 4s. 2d.

BOOK *never considered, and shall never consider, any thing*
VII. *but these metals.* Whoever thou mayest be that dost address thyself to me in this manner, avaricious mortal, and destitute of taste, who when conveyed to Mexico and Peru, would'st neither study the manners nor the customs, who would'st disdain to cast a look upon the rivers, the mountains, the forests, the fields, the diversity of climate, and the varieties of fish and insects; but who would'st only ask, Where are the golden mines? Where are the places in which the gold is wrought? I see that thou hast entered upon the reading of my work, with the same spirit as the ferocious Europeans entered upon these rich and unhappy countries; I see that thou wert worthy to accompany them, because thy propensities are the same as their's. Descend then into the mines; and meet with thy destruction by the side of those who work them for thee; and if thou dost come out of them again, make thyself at least acquainted with the criminal source of these fatal treasures which thou dost covet; and mayest thou never possess them hereafter without feeling the pangs of remorse. May the gold change it's colour, and appear to thine eyes as if it were dyed with blood.

Description of the mines of Peru, and particularly those of platina and quicksilver.

IN the country of the Incas are found mines of copper, tin, sulphur, and bitumen, which are generally neglected. Extreme necessity hath occasioned some attention to be paid to those of salt. This fossil is cut into large pieces, proportioned to the strength of the lamas and pacos, destined to convey it in all the provinces of the empire distant from the ocean. This salt is of a violet colour, and is streaked with veins of red like the Jasper. It is sold neither by weight nor measure, but in pieces nearly of equal size.

A NEW substance has been discovered lately in these regions: this is the platina, so called from the Spanish word *plata*, from whence the diminutive *platina*, or little silver, is made. BOOK VII.

THIS is a metallic substance, which hath hitherto been brought from the New World into the Old, only in the form of small pointed, triangular, and very irregular gravel, like the coarse filings of iron. Its colour is that of a white, between that of silver and iron, partaking a little of the tenacity of lead.

M. ULLOA is the first who has spoken of the platina, in the account he published in 1748, of a long voyage to Peru, from whence he was just returned. He informed Europe that this extraordinary substance, and which may be considered as an eighth metal, came from the gold mines of America, and was particularly found in those of the new kingdom.

THE year following, Wood, an English metallurgist, brought some specimens of it from Jamaica to Great Britain. He had received them eight or nine years before from Carthagena, and was the first person who made experiments upon them.

SOME very skilful chymists have since employed themselves in experiments and inquiries upon the platina; in England, Mr. Lewis, in Sweden, M. Scheffer; in Prussia, M. Margraff; and in France, M. M. Macquer, Beaume, De Buffon, De Morveau, De Sickenzen, and De Milly. The united labours of these several chymists hath so much improved our knowledge upon this article, that we do not scruple to say, there are few metallic substances, the nature of which is better known to us at present than the platina. That which comes into France is never entirely pure. It is usually mixed with rather a considerable

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derable quantity of small black sand, which is as strongly affected by the loadstone as the best iron, but which is indissoluble in acids, and cannot be melted without great difficulty; and lastly, particles of very fine gold are sometimes observed in it.

THIS mixture, which is almost always found, of the native platina with gold and with iron, had raised a suspicion that it might be nothing more than a combination of these two metals; and, accordingly, on melting together gold and iron, or rather gold and magnetic sand, similar to that which is found mixed with the platina, a combination is obtained, which hath some apparent affinities with this metallic substance: but a more strict examination seems to have destroyed this opinion, and the experiments of M. M. Macquer, and Beaumé, and particularly those of M. Le Baron de Sickengen, appear to have shewn that the platina is a peculiar kind of metal, which is not formed by the union of any other, and which hath properties belonging to itself.

THE little information which chymists have hitherto obtained respecting the natural history of the platina, and the small quantity they have had in their possession, hath not yet allowed them to apply the processes of metallurgy to it at large; but the methods they have given an account of, and particularly those for which we are indebted to the Baron de Sickengen, are sufficient for chymical accuracy. Nothing remains now but to make them more simple and less expensive.

THE first operation to be performed on the platina, consists in separating from it the gold, the iron, and the magnetic sand with which it is united. In order to do this, it is dissolved with the assistance of a little heat, in an aqua regia, composed nearly of equal parts of the nitrous
and

and marine acid. The magnetic sand, which is ^{B O O K} ^{VII.} indissoluble, remains at the bottom of the vessel, and by pouring off the liquor a solution is obtained, which contains gold, iron, and platina. To separate in the first instance the gold, a small portion of the vitriolum martis is added to the solution. The gold immediately precipitates, while the platina continues united to the solvent. Lastly, to get rid of the iron, some alkali, which hath been previously calcined with ox's blood, is poured *guttatim* into the same liquor. The iron is instantly precipitated, under the colour of Prussian blue, and nothing more remains in the solution than the platina, perfectly pure, and combined with the aqua regia.

THE platina being thus purified, the next business is to separate it from the solvent, and this is to be done by the addition of salt ammoniac. This substance precipitates the platina under a yellow colour, and this precipitate being exposed to a great heat, softens, and even dissolves; and by forging it with a hammer, the platina is obtained very pure and malleable. It appears from what we have been able to collect from the baron De Sickengen's Memoir, which hath been communicated to the Academy of Sciences, but not yet published, that the rough platina, worked by itself, and heated with an intense fire, becomes sufficiently soft to be forged and made into bars; and this circumstance naturally indicates the method to be pursued for the management of it in large works.

THE metal obtained by these several processes is nearly of the same specific weight as gold, it is of an intermediate colour between that of iron and silver; it can be forged and extended into thin plates; it may also be worked into thread, but it is not near so ductile as gold, and the

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the thread obtained from it, is not, in equal diameter, able to support so great a weight without breaking. When dissolved in aqua regia, it may be made to assume, by precipitation, an infinite diversity of colours; and Count Milly hath succeeded in varying these precipitates so much, that he hath had a picture painted in the colouring, of which there is scarce any thing but platina made use of.

GOLD is susceptible of combination with all the metals, and platina hath in like manner this property, but when too great a proportion of it enters into the combination, it renders the metal brittle. When allied with yellow copper, it forms a hard and compact metal, which will take the finest polish, which will not tarnish in the air, and which would consequently be very fit for making the mirrors of telescopes.

It doth not appear that mercury hath an effect upon platina, and therefore M. Lewis had proposed to amalgamate it with mercury, as a proper method of separating it from the gold with which it might have been united, but this method hath been considered by modern chymists as uncertain and defective; and there are others at present more to be depended upon: such are those we have been mentioning at the commencement of this article.

THIS new metal displays some properties infinitely interesting to society. It cannot be affected by any simple acid, or by any known solvent except the aqua regia; it will not tarnish in the air, neither will it rust; it unites to the fixedness of gold, and to the property it hath of not being susceptible of destruction, a hardness almost equal to that of iron, and a much greater difficulty of fusion. In a word, from considering the advantages of the platina, we cannot but conclude,
that

that this metal deserves, at least, from it's superiority to all others, to share the title of king of the metals, of which gold hath so long been in possession.

It were undoubtedly to be wished, that a metal so precious might become common, and that it might be employed for culinary utensils, in the arts, and in the laboratory of the chymist. It would unite all the advantages of vessels of glass, of porcelain, and of stone ware, without partaking of their fragility. A prejudice of the Spanish ministry, and which hath for a long time been adopted by all chymists, deprives us of this advantage. They have persuaded themselves that the platina might be allied with gold, in such a manner as that it could not be separated from it by any means, and they have consequently thought proper to forbid the extraction and transportation of a substance, that might be productive of so much mischief in the hands of avaricious men. But at present, that we are acquainted with methods as simple and easy to separate gold from platina, as to separate silver from gold; at present, that the chymists have taught us, that when these two metals are dissolved in aqua regia, we may precipitate the gold by the addition of the vitriolum martis, or the platina by the addition of salt ammoniac, and that in both these cases the two metals are perfectly distinct; at present, in a word, that the rulers of nations can easily obtain information by consulting the academies, it cannot be doubted but that the Spanish government will hasten to avail itself of a treasure of which it seems hitherto to have been the only possessor, and of which so advantageous a use may be made for the nation, and for society in general.

NATURE hath not formed any mines of gold or silver, in what are called the Valleys of Peru, except

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except one The large masses of these precious metals which we sometimes find there, have been conveyed by subterraneous fires, by volcanos, and by earthquakes, as well as by the revolutions which America hath experienced, and doth still experience every day These detached masses are sometimes found in other parts About the year 1730, a piece of gold, weighing ninety marks, was found near the town of La Paz It was a composition of six different species of this precious metal, from eighteen to three and twenty carats and a half There are but few ores, and those of base alloy, in the hillocks bordering upon the sea It is only in very cold or very high places that they are rich and frequent

THOUGH the Peruvians were unacquainted with coin, they knew the use of gold and silver, of which they made toys, and even vases The torrents and rivers furnished them with the first of these metals, but in order to obtain the second, more labour and industry was necessary; Next frequently the ground was opened, yet never so great a depth, but that the workmen themselves could throw the ore on the borders of the ditch which they had digged, or could at least convey it there by passing it on from one person to another Sometimes the sides of the mountains were opened, and the different veins which chance might present, were followed, though always to very small extent The two metals were melted and disengaged from the foreign materials that might be mixed with them by the means of fire Furnaces, in which a current of air supplied the office of the bellows, an instrument entirely unknown in these countries, were employed to perform this difficult operation

Porco, at a little distance from the spot where one of the lieutenants of Pizarro founded, in

1539, the city of I a Plata, Porco was, of all the mines which the Incas caused to be worked, the most plentiful and the most known. It was also the first which the Spaniards worked after the conquest, and their labour was soon extended to a multiplicity of others.

ALL of them, without exception, were found to be very expensive in the working. Nature hath placed them in regions destitute of water, wood, provisions, and all the necessaries of life, which must be conveyed at a great expence across immense deserts. These difficulties have been, and are still surmounted with more or less success.

SEVERAL mines, which have acquired some share of reputation, have been successively abandoned. Their produce, though equal to what it was originally, was not sufficient to defray the expences necessary to obtain it, this is a kind of revolution which many of the rest will experience.

IT hath also been necessary to renounce some of the mines which had given false hopes. Among this number is that of Ucantaya, discovered in 1703, sixty leagues to the south east of Cusco. This was only an incrustation of almost massive silver, which at first yielded a considerable quantity, but was soon exhausted.

SOME very rich mines have been neglected because the waters have invaded them. The declivity of the soil, which from the summit of the Cordelinas runs continually shelving to the South Sea, must necessarily have rendered these events more common at Peru than in other places. This mischief hath sometimes been found irremediable, at other times it hath been repaired; most frequently it hath been perpetuated for want of means, activity, or skill.

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THE gold mines, were at first preferably attended to. Wise men soon determined in favour of the silver mines, which are generally more extensive, more equal, and, consequently, less deceitful. Several of the former, however, are still worked. A tolerably regular series of success, hath made those of Lutiaca, of Araca, of Suches, of Caracava, of Lipoani, and of Cachabamba, to be considered as the richest.

AMONG the silver mines which, in our days, are the most celebrated, we must mention that of Huantrjaha, which hath been worked forty or fifty years ago, at two leagues distance from the sea, near the harbour of Iqueyqua. Upon digging five or six feet in the plain, we often find detached masses, which at first might be taken only for a confused mixture of gravel and sand, and which, upon trial, yield two thirds of their weight in silver. Sometimes they are so considerable, that, in 1749, two of them were sent to the court of Spain, one of which weighed one hundred and seventy five pounds, and the other, three hundred and seventy. In the mountains, the ore is disposed in veins, and is of two kinds. That which in the country is called *barra*, is cut with the rock, and is sent to Lima, where it is wrought. It yields most frequently from one, two, three, four, and as far as five parts of silver to one of stone. The other species is purified by fire in the country itself. If five of its quintals do not produce a mark of silver, it is thrown among the rubbish. This neglect arises from the excessive dearness of provisions, from the necessity of obtaining water fit for drinking fourteen leagues off, and from that of grinding the ore at a very considerable distance.

AT thirty leagues to the north east of Arequipa stands Caylloma. It's mines were discovered

covered very early; they have been since incessantly worked, and their produce is still the same. BOOK
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THOSE of Potosi were discovered in 1545. An Indian, named Hualpa, as it is said, pursuing some deer, in order to climb certain steep rocks, laid hold of a bush, the roots of which being loosened from the earth, brought to view an ingot of silver. The Peruvian had recourse to it for his own use, and never failed to return to his treasure every time that his wants or his desires solicited him to it. The change that had happened in his fortune was remarked by his countryman Guanca, to whom he avowed the secret. The two friends could not keep their counsel and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; and the indiscreet confidant discovered the whole to his master Villaroell, a Spaniard who was settled in the neighbourhood.

THIS discovery soon inflamed the minds of the Spaniards. Several mines were immediately opened in a mountain of a conical form, which is one league in circumference, five or six toises in height, and is of a dark red colour. In process of time, a less considerable mountain, issuing from the former, was also searched, and with equal success. The treasures that were derived from each of these mountains, were the origin of one of the largest and most opulent cities in the New World.

NATURE never offered to the avidity of mankind, in any country on the globe, such rich mines as those of Potosi. Exclusive of what was not registered, and was smuggled away, the fifth part, belonging to the government, from 1545 to 1564, amounted to 36,450,000 livres * per

* 151,875l.

BOOK *annum.* But this abundance of metals soon decreased. From 1564 to 1585, the annual fifth part amounted to no more than 15,187,489 livres four sols *. From 1585 to 1624, it amounted to 12,149,994 livres 12 sols †. From 1624 to 1633, to 6,074,997 livres six sols ‡. From this last period, the produce of these mines hath so evidently decreased, that in 1763 the fifth part, belonging to the king, did not exceed 1,364,682 livres 12 sols §.

In the first instance, each quintal of ore yielded fifty pounds of silver. At present, fifty quintals do not produce more than two pounds of silver. This is one part instead of twelve hundred and fifty.

- If this diminution should be carried on a little further, this source of riches must necessarily be given up. It is even probable that this event would already have taken place, if the ore were not so soft at Potosi, if the waters were not so favourably situated for grinding it, and if the expences were not infinitely less than at any other place.

BUT while the mines of Potosi were gradually losing their celebrity, those of Oruro, not far distant from them, were rising into great reputation. Their prosperity was even increasing, when the waters flowed into the richest of them. At the period in which we are writing, it hath not yet been possible to drain them, and all these treasures still remain under water. The mines of Popo, the most considerable of those that have escaped this great disaster, are no more than twelve leagues distant from the town of San Philip de Austria de Gruro, which was built in this district, formerly so celebrated.

* 632,812l 1s

† 253,124l 17s. 9d.

‡ 506,249l. 15s 6d.

§ 56,861l 15s. 9d

THE labours of the miners, settled to the east of La Plata, in the district of Carangas, were never disturbed by any accident; those, however, whom chance had brought to Turco were constantly the most fortunate, because this mountain always afforded them an ore incorporated, or, as it were, melted with the stone, and consequently richer than all the rest.

IN the diocese of La Pas, and near to the small town of Puna, Joseph Salcedo discovered, about the year 1660, the mine of Layacota. It was so rich that the silver of it was often cut with a chissel. Prosperity, which debases little minds, had so elevated that of the proprietor of so much opulence, that he permitted all the Spaniards, who came to seek their fortune in this part of the New World, to work some days for their own benefit, without weighing or measuring the present he made them. This generosity attracted an infinite number of adventurers, whose avidity induced them to take up arms. They attacked each other, and their benefactor, who had neglected nothing that might prevent or extinguish their sanguinary contentions, was hanged as being the author of them. Such incidents might be sufficient to lessen in our hearts the inclination to benevolence, and it is with reluctance I have mentioned this.

WHILE Salcedo was in prison, the water got possession of his mine. Superstition soon gave birth to the idea, that this was a punishment for the outrage committed against him. This idea, of divine vengeance was for a long time revered; but at length, in 1740, Diego de Baena, and some other enterprising men, associated themselves, in order to turn away the springs which had deluged so much treasure. In 1754, the work was so far advanced, that some utility was already derived

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rived from it. We know not what hath happened since that period.

ALL the mines of Peru were originally worked by means of fire. In most of them, mercury was substituted to this, in 1571.

THIS powerful agent is found in two different states in the bosom of the earth. If it be altogether pure, and in the fluid form which is proper to it, it is then denominated virgin mercury, because it hath not experienced the action of fire, in order to be extracted from the mine. If it be found combined with sulphur, it forms a substance of a red colour, which is more or less vivid, called cinnabar.

TILL the mine of virgin mercury, which was lately discovered at Montpellier under the buildings of the town itself, and which for that reason will probably never be worked, there had been no others known in Europe, except those of Udria in Carniola. These are in a valley, at the foot of high mountains, which were called by the Romans *Alpes Julie*. They were discovered by chance in 1497. They are about nine hundred feet deep. The descent into them is by pits, as into all other mines. There are under ground an infinite number of galleries, of which some are so low, that it is necessary to stoop in order to pass along; and there are places where it is so hot, that it is not possible to stop without being in a profuse sweat: it is in these subterraneous caverns that mercury is found, in a kind of clay, or in stones. Sometimes even this substance is seen running down like rain, and oozes so copiously through the rocks which form the vaults of these subterraneous caverns, that one man hath often gathered thirty six pounds of it in a day.

THERE are some people so fond of the marvelous, that they prefer this mercury to the other; which

which is a mere prejudice. Experience shews that the best mercury that can be used, either in medicine or in metallurgy, is that which hath been extracted from cinnabar. In order to separate the natural combination of these two volatile substances, sulphur and mercury, recourse must necessarily be had to the action of fire, to which some intermediate substance must be joined. This is either the filings of steel or copper, or the regulus of antimony, or lime, or some fixed alkaline salt. Europe is supplied with this last species of mercury from Hungary, Slavonia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Friuli, and Normandy. The quantity that Spain wants for Mexico comes from the mine of Almaden, which was famous even in the time of the Romans: but Peru hath found within itself at Guançá-Velica, a sufficient quantity for all it's exigences.

THIS ore, as it is said, was known to the ancient Peruvians, who made no other use of it than to paint their faces. It was forgotten during the confusion into which the conquest plunged this unfortunate region. It was found again in 1556, according to some historians, and in 1564, according to others; but Pedro Fernandez Velasco was the first who, in 1574, thought of employing it in working the other mines; the government reserved to itself the property of it. They even forbade upon any pretence whatsoever, that other mines of the same kind should be opened, lest they should be defrauded of the duties they laid upon mercury.

THE mine of Guançá-Velica hath undergone several changes. At the time in which we are writing, it's circumference measures one hundred and eighty varas, it's diameter sixty, and it's depth five hundred and thirteen. It hath four openings, all of them at the top of the mountain,

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mountain, a small number of buttresses, destined to support the soil, and three vent-holes, which either let in air, or serve to carry off the waters. It is worked by some partners, most of them without fortune, to whom the sovereign advances whatever they want, and who deliver the mercury to him at his stipulated price. The men employed in these labours were generally seized, formerly, with convulsive motions. This malady is at present much less frequent; whether it be that the mercury contained in the mine hath lessened by more than one-half, or that some precautions have been taken, which had at first been neglected. Those who have the care of the furnaces, are at present almost the only persons who are exposed to this calamity: they are, however, easily cured. The only thing necessary is to send them into a warm climate, or to employ them in cultivating the lands. The mercury, which affected their limbs, is carried off by perspiration.

THE barrenness of Guançavelica, and of the neighbouring lands, is remarkable. No fruit tree can be naturalized there. Of all the species of corn that have been sown, barley is the only one that hath sprung up; and even that hath never come to maturity. Nothing but the potatoe has thriven.

THE air is not more wholesome than the soil is fertile. Children, newly born, die of the tetanos still more frequently than in the rest of the New World. Those who have escaped this danger, are seized at the end of three or four months with a violent cough, and most of them perish in convulsions, unless care be taken to convey them into a milder climate. This precaution, which is necessary for the Indians and for the Mestees, is still more so for the Spaniards, who are less robust.

robust. The extreme severity of the climate, the sulphureous vapours which cover the horizon, and the generally vitiated constitution of the fathers and mothers, must be the principal causes of so great a calamity.

THE very elevated mountains of Guançavelica, had for a long time engaged the attention of men who were greedy of riches, when, at length, they became interesting to philosophers.

THE astronomers, who were sent in 1735 to Peru in order to measure the degrees of the meridian, travelled over a space of ninety leagues, beginning a little to the north of the equator, and proceeding as far as the south of the city of Cuenca, without discovering any mark which could lead them to think that these mountains, which were the highest in the universe, had been ever covered by the ocean. The banks of shells that were found out some time after at Chili, did not prove the contrary, because they were upon eminences of no more than fifty toises. But since Guançavelica hath furnished recent and petrified shells, and both of them in very great quantity, it is necessary to retract and give up all the consequences that had been deduced from this phenomenon.

It is not at Guançavelica that the mercury is delivered to the public. The government sends it to the provinces where the mines are. The places where it is deposited are twelve in number. In 1763 Guançavelica itself consumed one hundred and forty-two quintals; Taya, two hundred and forty-seven; Pasca, seven hundred and twenty-nine; Truxillo, one hundred and thirty-one; Cusco, thirteen; La Plata, three hundred and sixty-nine; La Pas, thirty; Caylloma, three hundred and seventy-four; Caranjas, one hundred and

BOOK fifty; 'Oruro, twelve hundred and sixty-four; and
 VII. Potosi, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-
 two. This made on the whole five thousand two
 hundred and forty-one quintals.

ALTHOUGH the quality of the ore determines the greater or less consumption of the mercury, yet, it is generally thought in the other hemisphere, where the art of metallurgy is very imperfect, that, upon the whole, the consumption of mercury is equal to the quantity of silver obtained from the mines. In this supposition, the twelve magazines which, from 1732 to 1763, delivered, one year with another, five thousand three hundred and four quintals, eighteen pounds of mercury, should have received the same quantity of silver. Nevertheless they received no more than two thousand two hundred and fifty. Therefore, two thousand seven hundred and fifty-four quintals eighteen pounds, were secreted in order to defraud the customs.

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LIMA hath always attracted the greatest part of these riches, whether they have escaped the vigilance of the treasury or not. This capital, built in 1535 by Francis Pizarro, and which hath since become so celebrated, is situated at two leagues from the sea, in a delicious plain. The prospect from it on one side extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it stretches as far as the Cordeleirias. It's soil is nothing but a heap of flints, which the sea hath undoubtedly in a series of ages piled together, but they are covered with earth a foot below the surface, which the spring waters, that are every where found on digging, have brought from the mountains.

SUGAR-CANES, numberless olive trees, some vines, artificial meadows, pastures full of salt which give meat an exquisite taste, small grain appropriated to the feeding of fowls, fruit-trees

of every kind, and certain other plantations, cover the surface of these fortunate plains. Wheat and barley prospered there, for a long time; but an earthquake happening about a century ago, caused such a revolution, that the seeds rotted without sprouting. It was not till after forty years of barrenness, that the soil resumed it's former fertility. Lima, as well as the other towns of the valleys, owes it's subsistence chiefly to the labours of the Negroes. It is scarce any where, except the inland parts, that the fields are cultivated by the Indians.

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BEFORE the arrival of the Spaniards, all the edifices in Peru were constructed without any foundations. The walls of the houses of private persons, as well as those of the public buildings, were alike placed on the surface of the earth, of whatever materials they might be made. Experience had taught these people, that in the country they inhabited this was the only way of dwelling in security. Their conquerors, who had a sovereign contempt for every thing which deviated from their habits, and who carried every where along with them their European customs, without considering whether they were suitable to the countries they were invading; the conquerors departed, particularly at Lima, from the manner of building which they found generally established. Accordingly, when the natives of the country saw them open deep trenches, and make use of cement, they said that their tyrants were digging graves to bury themselves in; and, perhaps, it was some consolation to the wretchedness of the conquered to foresee, that the earth would one day take upon itself to avenge them of their destroyers.

THE prediction hath been fulfilled. The capital of Peru, after having been partially sub-

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verted by eleven earthquakes, was at length totally destroyed by the twelfth. On the 28th of October 1746, at half an hour after ten at night, all, or almost all the buildings, whether large or small, were thrown down in the space of three minutes. Thirteen hundred persons were crushed under the ruins. A much more considerable number were mutilated; and most of them expired in horrid torments.

CALLAO, which serves as a harbour to Lima, was likewise overthrown, but this was the least of it's misfortunes. The sea, which had started back with horror at the instant of this dreadful catastrophe, soon returned to invade with it's impetuous waves the space it had quitted. It swallowed up the few houses and fortifications that had escaped the former danger. Of the four thousand inhabitants that were computed to be in this celebrated port, there were only two hundred saved. It then contained three and twenty ships; nineteen of them were swallowed up, and the rest thrown very far in upon the land by the irritated ocean.

THE ravage extended itself all over the coast. The few vessels there were in these bad harbours were shattered. The towns in the valleys sustained in general some damages, several of them even were totally subverted. Among the mountains, four or five volcanos threw out such prodigious columns of water, that the whole country was deluged by them.

THE minds of men, which had been for a long time in a state of lethargy, were roused by this fatal calamity; and it was Lima that first set the example of the change. The business was to clear away immense ruins heaped one upon another; and to get out prodigious treasures that were buried in these ruins. It was necessary to bring from

from Guayaquil, and from a still greater distance, every requisite for the construction of numberless edifices; and with all these materials, collected from these different regions, to raise a city superior to that which had been destroyed. These miracles, which were not to be expected from an indolent and effeminate people, were performed with great rapidity. Necessity inspired them with activity, emulation, and industry. Lima, though, perhaps, less wealthy, is at present more agreeable than in 1682, when its gates presented to the view of the duke of Palata, the viceroy, on his entering, streets paved with silver. It is also built with greater solidity, and for the following reason:

THE vanity of having palaces, concealed for a long time from the inhabitants of the capital of Peru, the dangers to which this absurd ostentation exposed them. In vain had the earth swallowed up at different periods these enormous masses; the lesson was never powerful enough to correct them. The last catastrophe hath at length opened their eyes. They have yielded to necessity, and have at last followed the example of other Spaniards settled in the valleys.

THE houses are at present very low, and have most of them no more than a ground floor. For walls they have posts placed at different distances. The intervals are filled up with reeds, nearly similar to ours, but which have no cavity, which are very solid, which do not easily rot, and which are covered over with clay. These singular edifices are topped with a wooden roof entirely flat, and also covered with clay, a sufficient precaution in a climate where it never rains. The several parts of these buildings are fastened together, and to the foundations with a strong kind of osier, which in the country is called chaglar. With this

kind

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kind of construction, the whole building readily yields to the motion communicated to it by the earthquakes. They may possibly be damaged by the convulsive motions of nature, but they cannot be easily thrown down.

These houses, however, are not deficient in appearance. The attention that is taken to paint the walls and cornices, so as to resemble free-stone, conceals the quality of the materials of which they are formed. They are even found to have an air of grandeur and solidity, which it would not be natural to expect. The defect of construction is still more concealed in the inside of the houses, where all the ornaments are painted in a style of greater or less elegance. The ordinary method of construction hath been but a little deviated from in the public buildings. Several of them are raised to the height of ten feet with bricks baked in the sun; some of the churches even are raised to the same height in stone. The rest of these monuments are in wood, painted or gilt, as well as the columns and statues which decorate them.

The streets of Lima are wide, parallel, and intersect each other at right angles. It's walls are continually washed and refreshed by waters brought from the river of Rimac. The water that is not employed in this salutary purpose, is advantageously distributed for the convenience of the citizens, for the use of the gardens, and for fertilizing the fields.

The scourges of nature, which have revived industry to a certain degree in Lima, have had less influence on the manners of it's inhabitants.

SUPERSTITION, which reigns throughout the whole extent of the Spanish dominions, hath at Peru two scepters at it's command, one of gold, for

for the usurping and triumphant nation; the other of iron, for the enslaved and pillaged inhabitants. The scapulary and the rosary are all the tokens of religion which the monks require of the Spaniards of Peru. It is on the form and colour of these kinds of talismans that the populace and the grandees found the prosperity of their undertakings, the success of their amorous intrigues, and the hopes of their salvation. The monkish habit, assumed in the last moments, constitutes the security of opulent people who have lived ill; they are convinced, that when wrapped in this clothing, which is so formidable to the devil, that avenging power of crimes, will not dare to descend into their graves, and seize upon their souls. If their ashes repose near the altar, they hope to partake of the sacrifices of the pontiffs, much more than the poor and the slaves.

INFLUENCED by such fatal errors, what enormities will they not commit to acquire riches, which secure their happiness in this world, and in the next? The vanity of immortalizing their name, and the promise of eternal life, secure to the monks a fortune, which can no longer be enjoyed; and families are disappointed of an inheritance, whether acquired by honesty or fraud, by legacies which serve to enrich men who have discovered the secret of escaping poverty by devoting themselves to it. Thus it is that the order of sentiments, ideas, and things, is subverted; and the children of opulent fathers are condemned to misery by the pious rapaciousness of a number of voluntary mendicants. The English, the Dutch, and the French, lose their national prejudices by travelling; the Spaniard carries his along with him throughout the whole universe; and such is the madness of bequeath-

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ing legacies to the church, that the ground of all the houses of Peru belongs to the priesthood, or pays them some share of rent. The institution of monkish orders hath done at Peru, what the law of the *Vatuf* will do, sooner or later, at Constantinople. Here the people bequeath their fortunes to a minaret, in order to secure it to their heirs; there they deprive an heir of it, by leaving it to a monastery from the dread of being damned. The motives are a little different, but in the end the effect is the same. In both countries the church is the gulph, in which all the riches are absorbed; and these Castilians, who were heretofore so formidable, shrink before superstition, as Asiatic slaves do in the presence of their despot.

THESE extravagances might induce one to suppose these people totally stupid; but this would be an injustice. Since the beginning of the century, good books are common enough at Lima; the people are not entirely destitute of knowledge; and we may be allowed to say, that the French navigators, during the war for the succession, implanted some good principles among them. Nevertheless the ancient habits have lost but little of their force. The Spanish Creole lives constantly among courtezans, or amuses himself at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He would be afraid to diminish the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds. His inclination leads him to marry in the country behind the church, that is an expression, which signifies living in a state of concubinage. In vain do the bishops anathematize every year, at Easter, those persons who are united in these illicit bonds. But what power have these vain terrors against the impulse of amorous desires, against custom, and especially against

against the climate, which is continually struggling with, and at last proves victorious over, all the civil and religious laws that oppose it's influence? BOOK
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THE charms of the Peruvian women are superior to the terror which the spiritual arms of Rome inspire. The majority of them, especially the women of Lima, have eyes sparkling with vivacity, a fair skin, a complexion that is delicate, animated, full of sprightliness and life, and a slender and well formed shape; a foot better turned and smaller than that of the Spanish women themselves; thick and black hair, flowing as if by chance, and without ornament, over their neck and shoulders, which are extremely white.

THESE various natural graces are heightened by every improvement that art can add to them. The clothing of the women is most sumptuous, and they use an unbounded profusion of pearls and diamonds, in every kind of dress in which it is possible to introduce them. It is even looked upon as a sort of grandeur and dignity, to suffer these valuable articles to be mislaid or lost. A woman even who hath no titles, and is not ennobled, seldom appears in public without gold tissues, and without jewels. She never goes out without being attended by three or four slaves, most of them mulatto women, in liveries as the men are, and adorned with lace as their mistresses.

PERFUMES are in general use at Lima. The women are never without amber; they scent their linen and their clothes with it, and even their nosegays, as if there were something wanting to the natural perfume of flowers. The amber is undoubtedly an additional allurements to the men, and the flowers impart a new attraction to the women.

BOOK VII men With these they adorn their sleeves, and sometimes their hair, like shepherdesses

THE taste for music, which prevails throughout all Peru, is converted into a passion in the capital. The walls resound with nothing but singing, and concerts of vocal and instrumental music. Balls are frequent. The people dance here with surprising lightness, but they neglect the graces of the arms, to attend to the agility of the feet, and especially to the inflections of the body, as images of the true emotions of voluptuousness.

SUCH are the pleasures which the women, who are all dressed rather with elegance than modesty, taste and diffuse at Lima. But it is particularly in those delicious saloons where they receive company, that they appear seducing. There, carelessly reclined on a couch, which is a foot and a half high, and five or six feet wide, and upon carpets and superb cushions, they pass their days in tranquillity and in delicious repose. The men, who are admitted to their conversation, seat themselves at some distance, unless their adorers, from greater intimacy, be permitted to come up to the couch, which is, as it were, the sanctuary of worship and of the idol. Yet these goddesses choose rather to be affable than haughty, and, banishing ceremony, they play on the harp and guitar, and sing and dance when they are desired.

THE most distinguished citizens find in those *majorascos*, or perpetual entails, transmitted to them by the first conquerors their ancestors, a sufficiency to answer these profusions. But the landed estates have not been adequate to the expences of a great number, even of very ancient families. Most of them have had recourse to trade. An employment so worthy of man,
and

and which extends at once his activity, his know-
ledge, and his power, hath never appeared to
them to derogate from their nobility; and the
laws have given a sanction to a mode of think-
ing so rational and so useful. Their capitals,
added to the remittances that are continually sent
from the inland countries have rendered Lima the
center of all the transactions which the provinces
of Peru carry on, either among themselves, or with
Mexico and Chili; and of the more important
ones with the mother-country.

THE straits of Magellan appeared the only
open way to form this last connection. The
length of the passage, the terror inspired by
stormy and almost unknown seas, the fear of
exciting the ambition of other nations, the im-
possibility of finding an asylum in case of unfor-
tunate accidents, and other considerations, per-
haps, turned the general views towards Pa-
nama:

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Panama
was for a
long time
the chan-
nel of com-
municati-
on between
Peru and
Spain.
Manner in
which this
trade was
carried on.

THIS town, which had been the gate through
which an entrance had been gained into Peru;
had risen to great prosperity, when, in 1670,
it was pillaged and burnt by pirates. It was re-
built on a more advantageous spot, at the distance
of four or five miles from the first, and of three
leagues from the harbour of Perico, which is
formed by a great number of islands, and suffici-
ently spacious to contain the most numerous fleets.
It rules over the provinces of Panama, the Ve-
raguas, and Darien, regions without inhabit-
ants, without culture, and without riches, and
which were decorated with the great name of the
kingdom of Terra Firma, at a period when great
expectations were entertained of their mines.
Panama hath never furnished any thing to trade
from it's own produce, except pearls.

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THE pearl fishery is carried on in forty-three islands of the gulph. The greatest part of the inhabitants employ such of their Negroes in it as are good swimmers. These slaves plunge and replunge in the sea in search of pearls, till this exercise hath exhausted their strength or their spirits.

EVERY Negro is obliged to deliver a certain number of oysters. Those in which there are no pearls or in which the pearl is not entirely formed are not reckoned. What he is able to find beyond the stipulated obligation, is considered as his indisputable property: he may sell it to whom he thinks proper, but commonly he cedes it to his master at a moderate price.

SEA monsters, which abound more about the islands where pearls are found than on the neighbouring coasts, render this fishing dangerous. Some of these devour the divers in an instant. The manta fish, which derives it's name from it's figure, rolls them under it's body, and suffocates them. In order to defend themselves against such enemies, every diver is armed with a poniard: the moment he perceives any of these voracious fish, he attacks them with precaution, wounds them, and drives them away. Notwithstanding this, there are always some fishermen destroyed, and a great number crippled.

THE pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water. Some of them are even remarkable for their size and figure: these were formerly sold in Europe. Since art hath imitated them, and the passion for diamonds hath entirely superseded or diminished the use of them, they are all carried to Peru.

THIS branch of trade hath, however, infinitely less contributed to give reputation to Panama, than

than the advantage which it enjoyed of being the staple of all the productions of the country of the Incas, that are destined for the Old World. These riches, which were brought hither by a small fleet, were carried, some on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, that is situated on the northern coast of the isthmus which separates the two seas.

THOUGH the situation of this town had been surveyed and approved by Columbus in 1502, it was not built till 1584, from the ruins of Nombre de Dios. It is disposed in the form of a crescent, on the declivity of a mountain which surrounds the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was formerly very well defended by forts, which Admiral Vernon destroyed in 1740, seems to afford an entrance six hundred toises broad; but it is so straitened by rocks that are near the surface of the water, that it is reduced to a very narrow canal. Vessels can only be towed into it, because they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm. Here they enjoy perfect security.

THE intemperature of the climate of Porto Bello is so notorious, that it hath been named the grave of the Spaniards. It hath been more than once necessary to leave ships here, because all their crews had perished. The inhabitants themselves do not live long, and have all a vitiated constitution. It is rather a disgrace to reside here. Some Negroes and Mulattoes only are to be met with, with a small number of white people, fixed by the posts they hold under government. The garrison itself, though only consisting of a hundred and fifty men, doth not continue here more than three months at one time. Till the beginning of the present century

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no woman dared to lie in here: she would have deemed it devoting both her child and herself to certain death. The plants that are transplanted into this fatal region, where the heat, the moisture, and the vapours, are excessive and continual, have never prospered. It is an established opinion, that the domestic animals of Europe, which have prodigiously multiplied in all the parts of the New World, lose their fruitfulness on coming to Porto Bello; and if we may judge by the few that are now there, notwithstanding the abundance of pastures, we might be induced to believe that this opinion is not ill founded.

THE badness of the climate prevented not Porto Bello from becoming at first the center of the most extensive commerce that ever existed. While the riches of the New World arrived there, to be exchanged for the productions of the Old, the vessels that sailed from Spain, known by the name of galleons, came hither laden with all the articles of necessity, convenience, and luxury, which could tempt the proprietors of the mines.

THE deputies for transacting this commerce, on both sides, regulated on board the admiral's ship the price of goods, under the inspection of the commander of the Squadron and of the governor of Panama. The estimate was not adjusted by the intrinsic value of each article, but by its scarcity or plenty. The ability of the agents consisted in forming their combinations so judiciously, that the cargo imported from Europe should absorb all the treasures that were come from Peru. It was regarded as a bad market, when there were found goods neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In this case only, the Spanish merchants were

were allowed to go and complete the sale of their B O O K
merchandise in the South Seas, and the Peruvian VII
merchants were permitted to make remittances to
the mother-country for their purchases.

As soon as the prices were settled, the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult, it was carried on with the utmost frankness. Every thing was transacted with so much honesty, that they never opened their chests of pistres, nor proved the contents of their bales. This reciprocal confidence was never deceived. There were found, more than once, sacks of gold mixed among sacks of silver, and articles which were not entered on the invoice. These mistakes were rectified before the departure of the ships, or on their return. There only happened, in 1654, an event which might have interrupted this confidence. It was found in Europe, that all the pistres that were received at the last fair, had a fifth of alloy. The loss was borne by the Spanish merchants, but, as the coiners of Lima were known to be the authors of this fraud, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no disgrace.

THE fair, the duration of which, on account of the noxious qualities of the air, was limited to forty days, was regularly holden. It is clear from the acts of 1595, that the galleons must have been dispatched from Spain every year, or at the latest every eighteen months, and the twelve fleets that sailed from the fourth of August 1628, to the third of June 1645, prove that this rule was strictly observed. They returned after a voyage of eleven, ten, and sometimes even eight months, laden with immense riches, in gold, silver, and merchandise.

THIS prosperity continued without interruption to the middle of the seventeenth century. After the

BOOK VII. the loss of Jamaica, a considerable contraband trade took place, which 'till that time had been trifling. The sacking of Panama in 1670, by John Morgan the English pirate, was attended with still more distressful consequences. Peru, which sent it's stock before-hand into this city, now no longer transmitted it 'till after the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena. This alteration occasioned delays and uncertainties. The fairs were not much frequented, and smuggling increased.

THE elevation of a French prince to the throne of Charles V. excited a general war; and at the very commencement of hostilities, the galleons were burnt in the port of Vigo; where, the impossibility of gaining Cadiz, had obliged them to take refuge. The communication of Spain with Porto Bello was then totally interrupted; and the South Sea had, more than ever, direct and regular connections with foreign powers.

THE peace of Utrecht did not put an end to the mischief. The unfortunate situation of circumstances, made it impossible for the court of Madrid to dispense with granting exclusively to an English company the privilege of providing Peru with slaves. They were even obliged to grant to this encroaching company the right of sending to each fair a vessel laden with the different merchandise that the country consumed. This vessel, which ought not to have been of more than five hundred tons burthen, always carried more than a thousand. It was neither furnished with water nor provisions. Four or five vessels, which followed it, supplied it's wants; and frequently substituted new goods in the place of such as had been sold. The galleons, ruined by this competition, were still more completely

pletely so by the fraudulent transactions carried on in all the ports to which the Negroes were conveyed. At last, after the expedition of 1737, it was impossible to support this commerce any longer, and a stop was put to those famous fairs envied by all nations, though they ought to have been regarded as the common treasure of all people.

FROM this period Panama and Porto Bello, have astonishingly declined. These two towns now only serve to carry on a few branches of a languid trade. Affairs of greater importance have been turned into another channel.

It is well known that Magellan discovered, in 1520, at the southern extremity of America, the famous Streight which bears his name. He saw there, and they have been frequently seen since, men who were about a foot higher than Europeans. Other navigators have only seen in the same latitudes men of an ordinary stature. During the course of two centuries, navigators have mutually accused each other of ignorance, prejudice, and imposture. At length some voyagers have been fortunate enough to meet with hords of a common size, and others of a more elevated stature, and they have concluded from this decisive event, that the persons who had gone before them had been right in what they affirmed, and wrong in what they denied. Then only it occurred, that there were no fixed inhabitants in these uncultivated regions, that the people came there from countries more or less distant, and that it was probable that the savages of one district were taller than that of another. This conjecture hath been supported by natural philosophy. It can never indeed be reasonably imagined, that nature deviates more from her principles, in producing those persons whom we

The Spaniards have substituted the route through the streight of Magellan and by Cape Horn to that of Panama

BOOK VII. choose to call giants, than in giving birth to those we call dwarfs.

THERE are giants and dwarfs in all countries. There are giants, dwarfs, and men of a common size born of the same father and the same mother. There are giants and dwarfs in every species of animals, trees, fruits, and plants; and whatever system of generation we may adopt, we have no greater reason to be astonished at the difference of stature between men of the same family, or of different families, than to see fruits of a different size upon a neighbouring tree, or upon the same. The man who shall explain one of these phenomena will explain them all.

THE Streight of Magellan is one hundred and fourteen leagues long, and in some places less than a league in breadth. It separates the land of the Patagonians from the Terra del Fuego, which, it is presumed, were formerly one and the same continent. The conformity of their barren coasts, of their rough climate, of their monstrous rocks, of their inaccessible mountains, of their eternal snows, of their savage inhabitants: every circumstance, in a word, tends to suggest the idea, that this large channel of navigation is the effect of one of those natural revolutions which so often change the face of the globe.

THOUGH it was for a long time the only passage known into the South Sea, the dangers incurred there caused it almost to be forgotten. The boldness of Drake, the celebrated navigator, who sailed by this track to ravage the coasts of Peru, determined the Spaniards, in 1582, to form a considerable settlement there, destined to preserve this rich part of the New World from invasion. This new colony perished almost entirely for want of provisions.

PEDRO SARMIENTO, who was charged with this important enterprise, set out from Europe in 1581, with twenty-three ships, and three thousand five hundred men. The expedition was thwarted by so many repeated calamities, that the admiral arrived the following year at the Streight with only four hundred men, thirty women, and provisions for seven or eight months. The deplorable remains of so fine a colony were settled at Phillipeville, in a safe, commodious, and spacious bay. But the misfortunes that had so cruelly attacked the Spaniards in their passage, obstinately pursued them at the end of their voyage. No succour was sent to them; the country furnished them no subsistence, and they perished with misery. Of the four-and-twenty wretches who had escaped this terrible calamity, three and-twenty, whose fate hath always remained unknown, embarked for the river Plata. Fernando Gomez, the only one that remained, was taken up in 1587, by the English pirate Cavendish, who gave to the place where he had found him, the name of Port Famine.

THE loss of this colony was not, however, attended with such consequences as had been apprehended. The Streights of Magellan soon ceased to be the road of these pirates, who were urged by their mercenary views to visit these remote regions. In 1616, some Dutch navigators having doubled Cape Horn, this became afterwards the road which the enemies of Spain followed, who designed to pass into the South Sea. It was still more frequented by French vessels, during the war which caused such confusion in Europe at the beginning of the present century. The impossibility which Philip V. felt of furnishing his colonies himself with provisions, emboldened

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the subjects of his grandfather to go to Peru. The want, of every thing, which the inhabitants then experienced, made the French to be received with joy, and at first they got a profit of eight hundred *per cent*. The merchants of Saint Malo, who had seized upon this commerce, did not acquire riches for themselves alone. In 1709, they delivered them up to their country, which was exhausted by the inclemency of the seasons, by repeated defeats, and by an ignorant and arbitrary administration. A navigation, which allowed of such noble sacrifices, soon excited an emulation that was too universal. The competition became so considerable, and the goods fell into such disrepute, that it was impossible to sell them, and several privateers burnt them, that they might not be obliged to carry them back into their country. The equilibrium was not long in re establishing itself, and these foreign traders made advantages that were considerable, when the court of Madrid, in 1718, took effectual measures to remove them from these latitudes, which they had but too long frequented.

It was not, however, till 1740 that the Spaniards began themselves to double Cape Horn. They employed ships and pilots from Saint Malo in their first voyages, but a little experience soon enabled them to go without these foreign assistances, and these stormy seas soon grew more familiar to their navigators, than they had ever been to their masters in this career.

Is Peru as
rich as it
was for-
merly?

TILL then the high opinion that had been always entertained, and for a long time with reason, of the riches of Peru, had been kept up. The court of Spain accused the smuggling trade of having turned aside the greatest part of them; and

and they flattered themselves that the new system BOOK VII. they adopted, would bring them back into their ports, in as great abundance, as at the most distant periods. A demonstration, to which it was impossible not to accede, convinced the most incredulous persons, that the mines of this part of the New World were no longer what they had been; and that the void they had left, had not been filled up by any other objects.

FROM 1748 to 1753, Lima received from Spain, for all Peru, ten ships, which brought back every year 30,764,617 livres (*a*). This sum was composed of 4,594,192 livres (*b*) in gold; of 20,673,657 livres (*c*) in silver and of 5,496,768 livres (*d*) in various productions.

THESE productions were thirty-one thousand quintals of cocoa, which were sold in Europe for 3,240,000 livres (*e*). Six hundred quintal of bark, which were sold for 207,360 livres (*f*). Four hundred and seventy quintals of Vicuña wool, which were sold for 324,000 livres (*g*). Ten thousand eight hundred and fifty quintal of copper, which were sold for 810,108 livres (*h*). Ten thousand six hundred quintals of tin, which were sold for 915,300 livres (*i*).

Of the gold and silver 1,620,000 livres (*k*) belonged to the government; 19,422,671 livres (*l*) to trade; and 4,225,178 livres (*m*) to the clergy and the civil and military officers.

(*a*) 1,231,859l. 6s. 8d.

(*c*) 861,402l. 7s. 6d.

(*e*) 135,000l.

(*g*) 13,500l.

(*i*) 38,137l. 10s.

(*j*) 809,277l. 19s. 2d.

(*b*) 191,404l. 13s. 6d.

(*d*) 229,531l. 10s.

(*f*) 8540l.

(*h*) 33,792l.

(*k*) 67,000l.

(*m*) 175,005l. 15s. 8d.

BOOK VII Of the merchandife, there were 1,381,569 livres * for the crown, and 4,115,199 livres † for the merchants

Time hath produced fome little change in affairs, but the improvement is not confiderable.

* 57 5651 7s 6d.

† 171 4661 12s 6d

B O O K VIII.

*Conquest of Chili and Paraguay by the Spaniards.
Account of the Events that have accompanied and
followed the Invasion of these Countries. Prin-
ciples on which Spain regulates her Colonies.*

REASON and equity both allow the founda-
tion of colonies; but they point out the prin-
ciples from which we ought not to deviate in esta-
blishing them.

ANY number of men, however considerable,
coming into a foreign and unknown country, are
to be considered only as one single man. Strength
increases with numbers, but the right is still the
same. If one or two hundred men can say,
this country belongs to us; one man may say the
same.

THE country is either desert, or partly desert;
and partly peopled, or it is entirely peopled.

If it be entirely peopled, I have no right to
claim any thing but hospitality, and the assist-
ance which one man owes to another. If I
should be exposed to perish with cold or hunger
upon any shore, I shall make use of my weapon,
I shall take what I want by force, and I shall kill
any one who resists me. But when I have ob-
tained an asylum, fire and water, bread and salt,
the people have fulfilled their obligations towards
me. If I require more, I become a thief and an
assassin. I have been however suffered to remain
among them, and have made myself acquainted
with their laws and manners. They suit my in-
clinations,

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Have the
Europeans
had a right
to found
colonies in
the New
World?

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clinations, and I am desirous of settling in the country. If the people consent, it is a favour they do me, if they refuse, I have no right to be offended. The Chinese are perhaps bad politicians, when they shut the gates of their empire against us, but they are not unjust. Their country is sufficiently populous, and we are guests of too dangerous a nature.

If the country be partly desert and partly occupied, the deserted part belongs to me, for I may take possession of it by my labour. The former inhabitant would be barbarous if he came suddenly to overthrow my hut, destroy my plantations, and pillage my fields. I may repel his irruption by force. I may extend my domain to the confines of his. The forests, the rivers, and the shores of the sea are common to us both, unless the exclusive use of them should be necessary to his subsistence. All he can require of me further is, that I should be a peaceable neighbour, and that my establishment should have no threatening aspect to him. Every nation is authorised to provide for its future and present safety. If I make a formidable inclosure, if I collect arms, if I raise fortifications, its deputies will be wise if they come to tell me. Art thou our friend or our enemy? If a friend, what is the use of all these warlike preparations? If an enemy, you will give us leave to destroy them, and the nation will act prudently, if at the instant they get rid of their well founded apprehensions. With much greater reason may they expel and exterminate me, without offence to the laws of humanity and justice, if I seize upon their wives, their children, or their property, if I make any attempts against their civil liberty, if I restrain them in their religious opinions, if I pretend to give them laws, and if I wish to enslave

enslave them. I then become one wild beast BOOK
 more in their neighbourhood; and they owe me VIII.
 no more pity than they would a tiger. If I have
 provisions which they want, and if they have some
 that are useful to me, I may propose exchanges.
 We are both of us at liberty to set what price we
 choose on what belongs to us. A needle is of
 more real value to a people reduced to the neces-
 sity of sewing the skins of the beasts which cover
 them, with the bone of a fish, than their silver
 can be to me. A sabre, or a hatchet, will be of
 infinite value to him who supplies the place of
 these instruments with cutting stones, fixed in a
 piece of wood hardened in the fire. Besides, I
 have crossed the seas to bring these useful ar-
 ticles, and I shall cross them again to carry back
 into my country the things I have taken in
 exchange. The expences of the voyage, the
 averages, and the dangers, must therefore enter
 into the calculation. If I laugh within myself
 at the absurdity of the man who gives me up his
 gold for iron, he, in his turn, laughs at me, who
 give him up my iron, all the usefulness of which
 he knows, for the gold which is of no service to
 him. We are both mutually imposed upon, or
 rather, indeed, there is no imposition on one
 side or the other. Exchanges ought to be per-
 fectly free. If I want to take away by force
 what is denied me, or to compel by violence the
 acceptance of what is rejected, they have a legal
 right to confine me, or to drive me away. If I
 seize upon the foreign commodity without offer-
 ing the price for it, or if I carry it away clan-
 destinely, I am a thief, who may be killed
 without scruple.

A DESERT and uninhabited country is the only
 one we can appropriate to ourselves. The first
 discovery,

BOOK discovery, being well ascertained, was a legitimate
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FROM these principles, which appear to me founded in truth, let the European nations judge of themselves, and give themselves what name they deserve. Their navigators arrive in a part of the New World, which is not occupied by any of the people belonging to the Old, and they immediately bury in the ground a small plate of metal upon which they have engraved these words: *THIS DISTRICT BELONGS TO US.* And why does it belong to you? Are you not as unjust, and as foolish as savages, who being thrown by chance upon your coasts, should write upon the sand of your shore, or upon the bark of your trees: *THIS COUNTRY BELONGS TO US.* You have no right over the insensible and brute part of the creation, over the soil where you land, and yet you arrogate one over man, who is your fellow-creature. Instead of acknowledging in this man a brother, you consider him only as a slave or beast of burthen. O my fellow citizens! You think and you act in this manner, although you have notions of justice, a system of morality, a holy religion, and one common Parent with those whom you treat so tyrannically. This reproach should be addressed more particularly to the Spaniards; and it will unfortunately be still more justified by the enormities they have committed in the country of Chili.

disruptions
 of the
 Spaniards
 to Chili.

THIS region, such as it is possessed by the Spaniards, hath one common breadth of thirty leagues between the sea and the Cordilleras, and nine hundred leagues of coast, from the great desert of Atacamas, which separates it from Peru, to the islands of Chiloe, which divide it from the country of the Patagonians

THE Incas had prevailed upon part of the inhabitants of this vast region to submit to their wise laws, and intended to subdue the whole, had they not met with insuperable difficulties. BOOK
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THIS important project was resumed by the Spaniards, as soon as they had conquered the principal provinces of Peru. In the beginning of 1535, Almagro set out from Cusco with five hundred and seventy Europeans, and fifteen thousand Peruvians. He traversed at first the country of Carcas, to which the mines of Potosi have since given so much celebrity. To go from this country to Chili, there were but two ways known, and they were both considered as impracticable. The first presented along the borders of the sea, nothing but burning sands, without water and without subsistence. To pursue the second, it was necessary to cross very steep mountains of a prodigious height, and covered with frows as old as the creation. These difficulties did not discourage the General; and he determined upon the last of these, for no other reason than because it was the shortest. His ambition was the destruction of one hundred and fifty Spaniards, and ten thousand Indians; but at length he accomplished his design, and was received with the greatest marks of submission by the nations that had been formerly under the dominion of the empire that had just been subverted. The terror of his arms would, probably, have procured him greater advantages, had not some concerns of a private nature brought him back to the center of the empire. His little army refused to repass the Cordelirine; and he was obliged to bring it back by the way he had first neglected. It accidentally met with so many fortunate circumstances, that it suffered much less than had been expected. This good success enlarged

BOOK enlarged the views of Almagro, and precipitated
 VIII him, perhaps, into those enterprises, which occasioned his fatal end

THE Spaniards appeared again in Chili in 1541. Valdivia, their leader, entered it without the least opposition. The nations that inhabited it were no sooner recovered from the astonishment with which they had been seized at the view of the European arms and discipline, than they wished to regain their independence. The war continued incessantly for ten years. If some districts, discouraged by repeated losses, resolved at last to submit, many of them obstinately persisted in the defence of their liberty, though they were generally defeated.

AN Indian captain, whose age and infirmities confined him to his hut, was continually told of these misfortunes. The grief of seeing his people always beaten by a handful of strangers, inspired him with courage. He formed thirteen companies of a thousand men each, arranged them in file, and led them against the enemy. If the first company was routed, it was not to fall back upon the next, but to rally, and be supported by it. This order, which was strictly obeyed, disconcerted the Spaniards. They forced through all the companies one after another, without gaining any material advantage. As both the men and horses wanted rest, Valdivia retreated towards a defile, where he judged he could easily defend himself; but the Indians did not allow him time sufficient to secure his retreat thither. Their rear marched through bye ways and took possession of the defile, while their vanguard followed him with so much precaution, that he was surrounded and massacred, together with his hundred and fifty men. It is said that the savages poured melted gold down his throat, exclaiming
 with

with exultation, *glut thyself with that metal thou art so fond of* They availed themselves of this victory to burn and destroy many of the European settlements, which would all have shared the same fate, had not the Spaniards been timely assisted by some considerable reinforcements from Peru, which enabled them to defend their remaining posts, and to recover those they had lost

THESE fatal hostilities have been renewed, in proportion as the usurpers have wished to extend their empire, and frequently even when they did not entertain this ambitious design. The engagements have been very bloody, and have scarce ever been interrupted, except by truces of more or less duration. Since the year 1771, however, tranquillity hath not been disturbed

THE people of Arauco are the most common, the most intrepid, and the most irreconcilable enemies the Spaniards have in these regions. They are often joined by the inhabitants of Tucapel, and of the river Biobio, and by those who extend towards the Cordelirias. As their manners bear a greater resemblance to those of the savages of North America, than to those of the Peruvians, their neighbours, the confederacies they make are always formidable

WHEN they go to war, they carry nothing with them, and want neither tents nor baggage. The same trees from which they gather their food, supply them with lances and darts. As they are situate of finding in one place what they had in another, they willingly resign any country which they are unable to defend. All places are equally indifferent to them. Their troops, free from all incumbrance of provisions and ammunition, march with surprising agility. They expose their lives like men who set little value on them, and, if they

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The Spaniards have been obliged to be continually engaged in hostilities at Chili. Manner in which the enemies make war

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they lose the field of battle, they are not at a loss for magazines and encampments wherever there is ground covered with fruits.

THESE are the only people of the New World, who have ventured to try their strength with the Spaniards in the open field, and who have thought of the use of the sling to lance the stroke of death from afar against the enemy. They are so bold that they will attack the best fortified posts. They sometimes succeed in these violent attacks, because they are continually receiving succours, which prevent them from being sensible of their losses. If these be so considerable as to oblige them to desist, they retire to the distance of a few leagues, and five or six days after, they direct their attacks to another post. These barbarians never think themselves beaten unless they be surrounded. If they can reach a place of difficult access, they think themselves conquerors. The head of a Spaniard, which they carry off in triumph, comforts them for the loss of a hundred Indians.

SOMETIMES hostilities are foreseen for a considerable time before, and are concerted with prudence. Very frequently a drunken fellow wantonly calls to arms; the alarm is instantly spread, a chief is chosen, and war is determined. A certain night is immediately fixed upon, in the dead of which, the time they always chuse for the commencement of hostilities, they fall upon the next village where there are Spaniards, and from thence proceed to others. They murder all the inhabitants, except the white women, whom they always take to themselves. This is the origin of the many white and fair Indians that are to be met with.

As these Americans carry on war without expence or inconvenience, they have nothing to
 appreciate

apprehend from it's continuance ; and it is a constant rule with them never to sue for peace. The pride of Spain must always condescend to make the first overtures. When these are favourably received, a conference is holden. The governor of Chili and the Indian General, attended by the most distinguished captains on both sides, settle the terms of accommodation, at a convivial meeting. These meetings were formerly holden on the frontiers ; but the two last were in the capital of the colony. The savages have even been prevailed upon to keep constantly some deputies there, who are commissioned to maintain harmony between the two nations.

NOTWITHSTANDING the violence and obstinacy of so many engagements, several good settlements have been formed at Chili, chiefly on the borders of the ocean.

Settle-
ments
formed
by the
Spaniards
at Chili.

COQUIMBO, or La Serena, a town built in 1544, at the distance of five or six hundred toises from the sea, to contain the Indians, and to secure the communication between Chili and Peru, was never a place of importance. It became still less considerable after having been pillaged and burnt by pirates. Notwithstanding the fertility of it's territory, and although plentiful mines of the finest copper have been discovered in it's neighbourhood, it hath never entirely got the better of this misfortune.

VALPARAISO was at first nothing more than a collection of huts, destined to receive the merchandise coming from Peru, and the provisions that were to be sent there. By degrees the factors of this trade, which belonged entirely to the merchants of the capital, succeeded in appropriating it to themselves. Then this wretched hamlet, though in a very disagreeable situation, became

N O'Ō K became a flourishing city. - Its harbour runs a league into the land. The bottom of it is a tenacious and firm kind of mud. At the distance of a thousand toises from the shore, there are from thirty-six to forty fathoms of water, and from fifteen to sixteen quite close to the shore. In the months of April and May, the North winds would expose the ships to some danger, if care were not taken to fasten their anchors strongly. The advantage which this port hath of being the nearest to the best plantations, and to Saint Yago, may relieve it from the apprehension of seeing it's prosperity diminish.

In 1550, the town of La Concepcion was built on an uneven and sandy soil, a little raised, upon the borders of a bay which is near four leagues in circumference, and which hath three ports, one of which only is safe. The town was at first the capital of the colony: but the neighbouring Indians so frequently made themselves masters of it, that, in 1574, it was thought proper to deprive it of this useful and honourable distinction. In 1603, it was again destroyed by an implacable enemy. Since that period it hath received very considerable damages from several earthquakes. Such, however, is the excellence of it's territory, that it still retains some degree of splendour.

At the distance of seventy-five leagues from Concepcion Island, and still on the borders of the Pacific Ocean, stands Valdivia, a town more important than it is populous. It's harbour and fortrefs, which are considered as the key of the South Sea; were for a long time under the immediate inspection of the Viceroy's of Peru. It was at length found that this was too distant a superintendence; and the place was incorporated with the government of the province.

No one had yet thought of the islands of Chiloe. The good fortune which the Jesuits had had, of collecting and civilizing a great number of savages in the chief of them, which is fifty leagues long and seven or eight broad, excited a desire of settling in them. In the center are the converted Indians. On the eastern coast a fortification, named Chacao, hath been built, where the garrison necessary for it's defence is maintained.

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IN the inland part of the country is Saint Yago, hastily built in 1541, destroyed in 1730 by an earthquake, and immediately after rebuilt, in a style so pleasant, and with such conveniences, as are very rarely found in the New World. The houses indeed are low, and constructed with bricks hardened in the sun; but they are all white on the outside, all painted within. They have all large gardens, and are refreshed with running streams. This city reckons forty thousand inhabitants, and the number would be still greater, were it not for nine convents of monks, and seven of nuns, which have been erected there by superstition.

AMONG the number of unfortunate auspices under which the discovery of the New World was made, we must not forget the importance which the prevailing spirit of superstition then gave to the monks; an importance which in some countries hath since been considerably diminished; which seems to struggle powerfully against the progress of science in others; which still prevails with imperious sway in those possessions that are distant from Spain, and which would yet leave traces as permanent as they are fatal, if even they were from this moment counteracted by all the authority of the ministry.

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SAINT YACÔ is the capital of the state and the seat of empire. The commandant there is subordinate to the Viceroy of Peru in all matters relating to the government, to the finances, and to war; but he is independent of him as chief administrator of justice, and president of the royal audience. Eleven corregidors, distributed in the province, are charged, under his orders, with the details of administration.

A POPULATION of four or five hundred thousand persons hath successively been formed in this district. There are but few here of those unfortunate slaves that Africa supplies; and most of them are devoted to domestic service. The descendants of the first savages, who were subdued with so much difficulty by a set of ferocious adventurers, have either taken refuge among inaccessible mountains, or are confounded with their conquerors. All the colonists are considered and treated as Spaniards. The pride of this descent hath not inspired them with that invincible aversion for useful labours, which is so universal in their nation. Most of these healthy, active, and robust men, live upon separate plantations, and cultivate, with their own hands, a territory of greater or less extent.

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THEY are encouraged in these commendable labours, by a sky always pure, and always serene; by a climate the most agreeably temperate of any in the two hemispheres; and still more by a soil, the fertility of which astonishes all travellers. Upon this fortunate land, the crops of the vine, of corn, and of the olive, although little care hath been taken in the cultivation, are four times as much as those we obtain in Europe, with all our industry, and with all our skill. None of the fruits of the earth have degenerated. Several of our animals have improved, and the horses,

in particular, have acquired a speed, and a spirit, BOOK
VIII. which those of Andalusia, from which they descend, never had. Nature hath carried her favours still farther; in bestowing upon this region an excellent kind of copper, which is employed, with advantage, in the Old, and in the New World. Gold is likewise found here.

BEFORE the year 1750, the treasury had not received in any year, for it's twentieth of this precious metal, more than 50,220 livres*. At this period a mint was established in the colony; and this innovation was attended with favourable consequences. In 1771, the royal duties amounted to 200,032 livres four sols†; and it must have increased considerably since. The alcavala, and the customs, did not produce more than 324,000 livres‡, and they now bring in 1,080,000 livres§. These several branches of revenue are increased since 1753, by the exclusive sale of tobacco.

ACCORDINGLY, Chili is no longer obliged to draw any thing from the coffers of Peru for it's public expences. The most considerable of these, is the maintenance of the troops. It amounts to 490,125 livres twelve sols||, for the pay of a thousand infantry, of two hundred and forty horse, and of two companies of well affected Indians; which, since 1754, form the establishment of the country. Exclusive of these forces, which are distributed in the islands Juan Fernandez, and of Chiloe, and in the ports of La Concepcion, and of Val Paraiso, upon the frontiers of the Andes, there is, in Valdivia, a particular garrison of seven hundred and forty-six soldiers, the maintenance of which costs 655,473 livres twelve

* 20921. 101

† 135021.

‡ 20,421. 18s.

+ 83341. 13s. 6d.

§ 45,0001.

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sols *. These means of defence would be supported, if necessary, by a very numerous militia. Perhaps, the infantry of these forces would make but little resistance, notwithstanding the pains that have been lately taken to exercise them: but some exertions might reasonably be expected from the best horsemen there are, perhaps, on the globe.

Trade of
Chili with
the savag-
es, with
Peru, and
with Pa-
raguay.

CHILI hath always had commercial connections with the neighbouring Indians on it's frontiers, with Peru, and with Paraguay.

THE savages supply it chiefly with the Pancho. This is a woollen stuff, sometimes white, and generally blue, about three ells long, and two in breadth. The head is passed through a hole made in the middle, and it falls down on all the parts of the body. Except on occasions of some ceremonies that are very unfrequent, the men and women, the common people, and persons of a more elevated rank, use no other clothing. It costs from thirty to one thousand livres†, according to the degree of it's fineness, and especially, according to the borders, more or less elegant, and more or less rich, that are added to it. These people receive in exchange small looking glasses, toys, and some other articles of little value. Whatever may be their passion for these trifles, when they are displayed before them, they would never go out of their forests and fields in search of them, it is therefore always necessary that they should be carried to them. The merchant who wishes to undertake this little trade, applies in the first instance to the heads of the families, who are the sole depositaries of the public authority. When he hath obtained permission to sell, he goes through the habitations,

* 27,311 8s.

† From 11 5s. to 411 13s 4d.

and gives his merchandise indiscriminately to all the persons who ask for it. Having finished this business, he gives notice of his departure, and every one who hath purchased any thing of him, brings, without delay, to the village where he first made his appearance, the goods agreed for between them. There hath never been any instance of dishonesty in this traffic. The merchant is allowed an escort to assist him in conducting the cloths and the cattle he hath received in payment, to the frontiers of the country.

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It is not from what we find in the midst of forests, but from what we observe in the center of polished societies, that we learn to despise and to mistrust mankind. If any of our merchants, in any one of our fairs, were indiscriminately to distribute his goods, without security for the payment of them, to whomsoever should come to receive them, is it to be imagined that he would ever again see the people return with the price of the things they had purchased? A savage, unrestrained by laws, would not be guilty of those things, which men who are under the influence of honour, and the controul of civil and religious laws, would not blush to commit, to the disgrace of our religion, of our policy, and of our morals.

WINE and brandy were sold, 'till the year 1724, to these people, who, like most other savages, are excessively fond of them. When they were intoxicated they used to take up arms, massacre all the Spaniards they met with, and ravage the country near their dwellings. It is seldom that the corrupter doth not receive his punishment from the very person he hath corrupted. Frequent instances of this are seen in children with respect to their fathers, who have neglected their education; in women to-
wards

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wards their husbands, whose morals are bad ; in slaves, towards their masters ; in subjects towards their sovereigns, when neglected by them ; in a subdued nation towards the usurpers. We ourselves have been punished for the vices we have transferred into the other hemisphere ; among ourselves and among people of the New-World, whom we have subdued ; among ourselves, by the multitude of factitious wants we have created : among them, in a variety of ways, and particularly by teaching them the use of spirituous liquors, which hath often animated them with artificial fury, which they have turned against us. In whatever manner we proceed, whether by superstition, by patriotism itself, or by spirituous liquors, in depriving man of his reason, it cannot be done without fatal consequences. If we intoxicate him, whatever may be the nature of the intoxication, it will soon go off, or it will be productive of mischief.

DRUNKENNESS, or an habitual excess in the use of spirituous liquors, is a coarse and brutal vice, which deprives the mind of it's vigour, and the body of part of it's strength. It is an infringement of the law of nature, which forbids man to forfeit his reason, the only advantage which distinguishes him from other animals, who live on the surface of the globe.

THIS irregularity, though always blameable, is not equally so every where, because it is not attended with the same inconveniences in all regions. Generally speaking, it makes men furious in hot countries, and only renders them stupid in cold ones. It hath therefore been necessary to forbid it with more strictness in one climate than in another. From hence it hath happened, that wherever a regular form of government hath been established, this vice is become

come more uncommon under the Equator than towards the Pole. BOOK
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THIS is, not the case among savage nations. Those of the South not being more restrained than those of the North by the magistrate, or by habit, they have all devoted themselves with equal fury to their passion for strong liquors. It hath been a part of the policy of the Europeans, to supply the savages with them, either for the purpose of stripping, or of enslaving them, or even to induce them to employ themselves in some useful labours. These liquors have scarce been less destructive to these people than our arms, and we cannot forbear to rank them among the number of calamities with which we have loaded the other hemisphere.

SPAIN is to be commended for having at length abstained from selling to the inhabitants of Chili wine and brandy. This prudent step hath evidently increased the connections that were kept up with them; but it is not possible that they should for a long time become so considerable as those that are maintained with Peru.

CHILI supplies Peru with hides, dried fruit, copper, salt meat, horses, hemp, and corn, and receives in exchange, tobacco, sugar, cocoa, earthen ware, some manufactures made at Quito, and some articles of luxury brought from Europe. The ships sent from Callao on this traffic, which is reciprocally useful, were formerly bound for Concepcion Bay, but now come to Valparaiso. During the course of near a century, no navigator in these tranquil seas would venture to lose sight of land; and then these voyages lasted a whole year.

A PILOT of the Old World having at length observed the winds, performed the navigation in
ore

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one month. 'He was considered as a wizard, and he was taken up by order of the inquisition; whose ignorance becomes an object of ridicule; when it's cruelty doth not excite our abhorrence. The journal he produced was his vindication; and it plainly appeared that to perform the same voyage, 'it was only necessary to keep clear of the coasts. His method was, therefore, universally adopted.

'CHILI sends to Paraguay wines, brandy, oil, and chiefly gold; and receives in payment mules, wax, cotton, the herb of Paraguay, Negroes, and also much of the merchandize of our hemisphere, before the merchants of Lima had obtained, either by bribery, or by their influence, that this last branch of commerce should be prohibited. The communication between the two colonies is not carried on by sea; it hath been found more expeditious, safer, and even less expensive, to go by land, though there are three hundred and sixty-four leagues, from 'St Jago to Buenos-Ayres, and that more than forty of these are amidst the snows and precipices of the Cordeleirias

'If the connections between these two establishments should be multiplied or extended, they must be kept up by the Streights of Magellan, or by Cape Horn. It hath been hitherto a matter of doubt which of these two ways was the best; but the problem seems to be solved by the observations of the last navigators. They almost generally prefer the Streights; on account of a quantity of fresh water, wood, fish, shell fish; and the infinite number of plants, specific remedies against the scurvy, that are to be found there. But this preference can only take place from September to March, that is to say, in the summer months. During the short days of winter,

winter, it would be necessary to sail only for a few hours, or to brave, in a channel most commonly narrow, the violence of the winds, the rapidity of the currents, and the impetuosity of the waves, with an almost moral certainty of being shipwrecked. In this season of the year, the open sea, and consequently the doubling of Cape Horn, is to be preferred.

A NUMBER of combinations, palpably absurd, have constantly deprived Chili of every immediate connection with Spain. The little merchandise of our hemisphere which this country could consume, came to it from Peru, which received them itself with difficulty, and at a great expence, by the road of Panama. The fate of Chili was not even changed, when the sailing by Cape Horn was substituted to that which was practised by the isthmus of Darien; and it was not 'till very late, that the ships which used to coast this country in their way to Lima, were permitted to leave some small portion of their cargoes. At length, a more agreeable prospect hath opened itself to this beautiful country. Since the month of February 1778, all the ports of the mother country are allowed to trade there at pleasure. This fortunate adoption of the true principles of commerce must be attended with the greatest success; and this innovation will have the same influence over Paraguay.

THIS is an immense region, bounded on the north by Peru and the Brazils; on the south by the country bordering on the Streights of Magellan; on the east by the Brazils; and on the west by Chili and Peru.

THE Paraguay derives it's name from a large river which all geographers have supposed to proceed from the lake Xarayes. The Spanish and Portuguese commissioners, appointed in

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Th-Spa-
nards dis-
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centuries

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1751 to regulate the limits of the two empires, were much surprised to meet each other at the origin of this river, without having perceived this mass of waters, which was said to be immense. They ascertained, that what had been before taken for a prodigious lake, was nothing more than a very low portion of land, covered, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth degree of latitude, in the rainy season, by the overflowings of the river. Since that period, it is known that the Paraguay river takes it's rise in the flat country called *Campo des Parais*, in the thirteenth degree of southern latitude; and that towards the eighteenth degree, it communicates by some very narrow channels, with two great lakes in the country of the Chiquitos.

BEFORE the arrival of the Spaniards, this immense country contained a great number of nations, most of them consisting of a few families. Their manners must have been the same; and if there had been any difference in their characters, it would not have been perceived by the stupid adventurers, who had first shed the blood of this part of the New World. These people lived upon hunting, fishing, wild fruits, honey, which was commonly found in the forests, and roots that grew spontaneous. With a view of procuring greater plenty of wood, they were perpetually wandering from one district to another. As the Indians had nothing to remove but a few earthen vessels, and as branches of trees could be found every where to build huts with, these emigrations were attended with few incumbrances. Though they all lived in a state of absolute independence, yet the necessity of mutual defence had obliged them to connect their interests. Some individuals united under the direction of a leader, of their own choice. These associations, which were

were more or less numerous, in proportion to the reputation and abilities of the chief, were as easily dissolved as formed. BOOK
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THE discovery of the river Paraguay was made in 1515, by Diaz de Solis, a noted pilot of Castile. He and most of his men were massacred by the natives, who, to avoid being enslaved, some years after also destroyed the Portuguese of Brazil.

THE two rival nations, equally alarmed by these calamities, gave up all thoughts of Paraguay, and turned their avaricious views towards another place. The Spaniards accidentally returned there in 1526.

SEBASTIAN CABOT, who in 1496 had made the discovery of Newfoundland for the crown of England, finding that kingdom was too much taken up with domestic affairs to think of making settlements in a new world, offered his services to Castile, where his reputation made him be fixed upon to conduct an important expedition.

THE *Victory*, celebrated for being the first ship that ever sailed round the world, and the only one of Magellan's Squadron that returned to Europe, had brought back from the East Indies a great quantity of spices. The great profit that was made from the sale of them, occasioned a second expedition, the command of which was given to Cabot. In pursuing the track of the former voyage, he arrived at the mouth of the Plata. Whether he was in want of provisions necessary for a longer voyage, or whether, which is more probable, his men began to be mutinous, he stopped there. He even sailed up the river, gave it the name of *La Plata*, because among the spoils of a few Indians, inhumanly put to death, some ornaments of gold and silver had been found, and built a kind of fortress at the entrance of

B O O K of the river Ríotecero, which comes down from
VIII. the mountains of Tucuman. The opposition he met with from the inhabitants of the country, made him judge, that in order to form a solid establishment, other means were wanting superior to those he had; and, in 1530, he went to Spain in order to solicit them. Those of his companions whom he had left in the colony, were most of them massacred, and the few who escaped from the arrows of the enemy soon followed him.

SOME more considerable forces, led by Mendoza, appeared on the river in 1535, and laid the foundations of Buenos-Ayres. They were soon reduced to the necessity of perishing with hunger within their palisades, or of devoting themselves to certain death, if they ventured to go out of them in order to procure subsistence. A return into Europe seemed to be the only way of relief from so desperate a situation: but the Spaniards had persuaded themselves that the inland countries abounded in mines; and this prejudice induced them to persevere. They abandoned a place where they could no longer remain, and went to found, in 1536, a colony on the island of Assumption, three hundred leagues up the country, but still on the banks of the same river. By this change, they evidently removed further from the assistance of the mother-country, but they imagined it brought them nearer the source of riches; and their avidity was still greater than their foresight.

THEY were still however reduced to the necessity of perishing, unless they could succeed in diminishing the extreme antipathy the savages bore them. The marriage of the Spaniards with the Indian women, appeared calculated to effect this great change; and it was accordingly resolved upon.

upon. From the union of two such different nations, sprang the race of the Mestees, which, in process of time, became so common in South America. Thus it is the fate of the Spaniards, in all parts of the world, to be a mixed race. The blood of the Moors still flows in their veins in Europe, and that of the savages, in the other Hemisphere. Perhaps, this mixture may be of advantage, if it be a fact that men, as well as animals, are improved by crossing the breed. It were indeed to be wished, that the various races of mankind were lost in one, that there might be an end of those national antipathies, which only serve to perpetuate the calamities of war, and all the several passions that destroy the human species. But discord seems to arise of itself between brothers; can it therefore be expected that all mankind should become one family, the children of which sprung, as it were, from the same common parent, should no longer thirst after each other's blood? For is not this fatal thirst excited and maintained by that of gold?

It was this shameful passion, which kept up the cruelty of the Spaniards, even after the connections they had formed. They seemed to punish the Indians for their own obstinacy in searching for gold where there was none. Several ships, which were bringing them troops and ammunition, were lost, with all they had on board, by venturing too far up the river; but even this circumstance could not prevent them from obstinately persisting in their avaricious views, though they had so long been disappointed in them; till they were compelled, by repeated orders from the mother-country, to re-establish Buenos Ayres.

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THIS necessary undertaking was now become easy. The Spaniards, who had multiplied in Paraguay, were strong enough to restrain or destroy the nations that might oppose them. Accordingly, as it had been expected, they met with little difficulty. Juan Ortiz de Zarate executed the plan in 1580, and rebuilt Buenos-Ayres upon the same spot which had been forsaken for forty years. Some of the petty nations in the neighbourhood, submitted to the yoke. Those which were more attached to their liberty, went to a greater distance, with a view of removing still further, in proportion as their oppressors should extend their establishments. Most of them at last took refuge in Chaco.

Such of the
Indians as
will not
submit to
the yoke
of Spain
take refuge
at Chaco.

THIS country, which is two hundred and fifty leagues in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, is reckoned one of the best in America; and it is thought to be peopled with one hundred thousand savages. They form, as in other parts of the New World, a great number of nations, forty six or forty-seven of which are very imperfectly known.

THIS region is traversed by several rivers. The Pilcomayo, more considerable than all the rest, issues from the province of Charcas, and divides into two branches, seventy leagues before it empties itself into the Rio de la Plata. The course of this river appeared to be the most convenient way of establishing settled connections between Paraguay and Peru. It was not, however, till 1702, that an attempt was made to sail up it. The people who dwelt upon the banks, understood very well that they should sooner or later be enslaved, if the expedition were successful, and they prevented this misfortune by massacring all the Spaniards who were engaged in it.

NINETEEN years after, the Jesuits resumed this grand project; but when they had advanced three hundred and fifty leagues, they were forced to put back, because they were in want of water to continue their voyage. They were blamed for having undertaken it in the months of September, October, and November, which, in these countries, are the dry seasons; and there is no doubt but that the enterprise would be successful in the other seasons of the year.

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THIS road of communication must either have appeared less advantageous, or must have presented greater difficulties than were at first conceived, since no attempt hath since been made to open it. The government, however, have not entirely given up their ancient project of subduing these people. After incredible fatigues, and which were for a long time useless, some missionaries have at length succeeded in fixing three thousand of these wanderers, in fourteen villages, seven of which are situated on the frontiers of Tucuman, four on the side of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, two towards Taixa, and only one in the neighbourhood of Assumption Island.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frequent incursions of the inhabitants of Chaco, and the fury of some other less numerous colonies, Spain hath succeeded in forming three great provinces in this district. That which is called Tucuman, is even, well watered, and wholesome. The cotton and the corn that is consumed in the country, is cultivated there with the greatest success; and some experiments have shewn, that indigo, and the other productions peculiar to the New World, would thrive there as well as in any of the settlements which they have enriched for so long a time. The forests are all filled with honey; and there

The Spaniards succeed in founding three large provinces Peculiarities in each of them.

BOOK there are not, perhaps, better pasturages on the
VIII. face of the globe. Most of the woods are of a
 superior kind. There is one tree in particular,
 known by the name of Quebracho, which is
 said to be nearly as hard, as weighty, and as
 durable as the best marble, and which on account
 of the difficulty of conveyance, is sold at Potosi
 for as much as ten thousand livres *. That por-
 tion of the Andes which is in this district is
 abounding in gold and copper, and some mines
 have been already opened there.

But it would require an infinite number of
 hands, to extract from this immense territory the
 riches it contains. Notwithstanding this the per-
 sons who give the most favourable accounts of it's
 population do not reckon it to amount to more
 than one hundred thousand inhabitants, Spaniards,
 Indians, and Negroes. They are collected in
 seven villages, of which Saint Yago del Estero is
 the principal, or are distributed upon scattered
 domains, some of which have more than twelve
 leagues in extent, and reckon as far as forty
 thousand horned cattle, and six thousand horses,
 without including other herds of animals of less
 importance.

The province which is particularly called Pa-
 raguay, is much too damp, on account of the
 forests, lakes, and rivers, with which it is co-
 vered. Accordingly, exclusive of the celebrated
 missions of the same name which belong to it, it is
 not computed to contain more than fifty-six thou-
 sand inhabitants. Four hundred only are at As-
 sumption, the capital; two other villages, which
 also bear the names of towns, have still a less
 number. Fourteen colonies, governed upon the
 same principle, as those of the Guaranis, contain

six thousand Indians. All the rest live in the country places, where they cultivate tobacco, cotton, and sugar, which are sent, with the herb of Paraguay, to Buenos-Ayres, from whence some mercantile articles brought from Europe are received in exchange.

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THIS country was always exposed to the excursions of the Portuguese on the eastern side, and to those of the savages on the north and on the west. It was necessary to adopt some mode of driving back enemies that were mostly implacable. Forts were constructed; lands were appropriated to the maintenance of them; and every citizen bound himself to defend them for a week in every month. These arrangements, anciently made, still subsist. If, however, this service should be disagreeable to any one, or should interfere with his business, he may be freed from it by paying from 60 to 100 livres*, according to his fortune.

THE part which at present constitutes the province of Buenos-Ayres, was originally part of that of Paraguay. It was not separated from it till 1621, and it remained for a long time in the greatest obscurity. A fraudulent trade, which, after the peace of Utrecht, was opened with it by the settlements of the Portuguese at Saint Sacramento, and which enabled it to form fixed connections with Chili and Peru, imparted to it some activity. The misfortune that happened to the squadron under Pizarro, who in 1740 was commissioned to protect the South Sea against the forces of Great Britain, increased it's population and activity. They both received an addition of extension from those enterprising men who settled in this country, when the courts of Madrid and

* From 21. 10s. to 41. 3s. 4d.

BOOK of Lisbon undertook to fix the too uncertain limits of their territory. At length, the war carried on in 1776, between these two powers, with troops sent from Europe, contributed to give still greater solidity to the colony.

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Of the capital of Paraguay, and of the difficulties which navigators must surmount to get there

At present, the two banks of the river, from the ocean to Buenos-Ayres, and from Buenos-Ayres to Santa-Fé, are either covered with numerous flocks, or tolerably well cultivated. Corn, maize, fruits, and pulse, every thing, in a word, which supplies the ordinary wants of life, except wine and wood, grows there in great abundance.

BUENOS-AYRES, the capital of the colony, unites many advantages. The situation is healthy and pleasant, and the air temperate. It is regularly built. Its streets are wide, and composed of houses that are extremely low, but all of them are embellished with a garden of greater or less extent. The public and private buildings, which fifty years ago were all made of earth, are more solid and commodious, since the natives have learned the art of making brick and lime. The number of inhabitants amounts to thirty thousand. One side of the town is defended by a fortress, with a garrison of six or seven hundred men; and the rest is surrounded by the river. Two thousand nine hundred and forty-three militia, Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and free Mulattoes, are always ready to join the regulars.

THE town stands sixty leagues from the sea. The ships get to it by sailing up a river that wants depth, is full of islands, shoals, and rocks, and where storms are more frequent and more dreadful than on the ocean. It is necessary to anchor every night on the spot they come to; and on the most moderate days, a pilot must go before in a boat to sound the way for the ship. After having surmounted these difficulties, the ships

are obliged to stop at the distance of three leagues B O O K
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from the town, to put their goods on board some light vessels, and to go to refit, and to wait for their cargoes, at Incenada de Barrigan, situated seven or eight leagues below

THIS is a kind of village, formed by some huts built with rushes, covered with hides, and scattered about without order. Neither magazines nor subsistence are to be found there, and the place is inhabited only by a few indolent men, from whom scarce any service is to be expected. The mouth of a river, which is from five to six thousand toises broad, serves it for a harbour. No ships that draw above twelve feet of water can enter it. Vessels that require more depth are obliged to take refuge behind a neighbouring point, where the anchorage, fortunately, is more inconvenient than dangerous.

THE insufficiency of this asylum occasioned, in 1726, the town of Montevideo to be built forty leagues below Buenos Ayres, and upon a bay which is two leagues in depth. It is defended on the side of the land by a well constructed citadel, and protected on the side of the river by batteries judiciously placed. Unfortunately, there are not more than four or five fathoms of water, and the vessels are obliged to run aground. This is no great inconvenience for the merchantmen, but the men of war perish speedily upon this mud, and are easily warped. Some experienced navigators, on whom nature hath bestowed a spirit of observation, have observed, that with little labour and expence, one of the finest harbours in the world might have been constructed in the neighbourhood, on the river Saint Lucia. In order to effect this, the only thing necessary was to dig away the bank of sand which renders the entrance of it difficult. The court of Madrid

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will sooner or later be obliged to adopt this plan; since Maldonado, which was their only hope, is at present acknowledged to be one of the worst harbours in the world.

Of the herb
of Para-
guay, the
chief rich-
es of the
colony.

THE richest produce that comes from the three provinces, is the herb of Paraguay. It is the leaf of a middle-sized tree, which hath not been described or observed by any botanist. The taste is similar to that of mallows, and in shape it resembles an orange tree. It is divided into three sorts. The first, called *caacuy*, is the bud when it just begins to unfold it's leaves. This is far superior to the other two, but will not keep so long, and it is therefore difficult to export it to any distance. The next, which is called *caamini*, is the full grown leaf stripped of it's stalks. If these be left on, it is called *caaguaza*, which is the third sort. The leaves are first roasted, and then kept in pits digged in the ground, and covered with bulls hides.

THE mountains of Maracayu, at the east side of Paraguay, furnish the herb that is most esteemed. The tree which produces it grows in the marshy vallies that lie between the hills. The city of Assumption first brought this production, which was the delight of the savages, into repute. The exportation of it procured considerable riches to the town. But this advantage was not of long continuance, for all the Indians of that district were soon lost in the long voyage they were obliged to take. The whole country became a desert for forty leagues round the city, and the inhabitants were obliged to give up this trade, which was the only source of their wealth.

To this first mart succeeded that of Villa Rica, which was nearer to the production by thirty-six leagues. This also soon came to nothing, for the same

same reason as had occasioned the fall of that to which it had succeeded.

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At length, in the beginning of the century, Cunuguati was built, at the distance of a hundred leagues from Assumption, and at the foot of the mountains of Maracayu. It is at present the great market for the herb of Paraguay; but a competition hath lately risen up against it, from a quarter where there was no reason to expect one.

THE Guaranis, who at first gathered the herb only in sufficient quantity for their own consumption, collected it, in process of time, for sale. This employment, and the length of the voyage, kept them absent from their colonies for a considerable part of the year. During this interval, they were all deprived of instruction. Many of them perished by change of air and fatigue. Some grew weary of this laborious employment, and retired into the woods, where they resumed their former way of life. Besides, the missions, deprived of their defenders, were exposed to the inroads of the enemy. These evils were too numerous. To obviate them, the Jesuits procured seeds from Maracayu, and sowed them in those parts of the land that were most analagous to the soil they were brought from. They grew up very rapidly, and have not degenerated, at least in any sensible degree.

THE produce of these plantations, added to that which grows spontaneously, is very considerable. Part of this remains in the three provinces Chili and Peru consume annually twenty-five thousand quintals of it, which cost them near two millions of *lives* *.

THIS herb, which the Spaniards and other inhabitants of South America take so much delight

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in, and to which they attribute so many virtues, is in general use through this part of the New World. It is dried and reduced almost to powder, then put into a cup with sugar, lemon-juice, and sweet-scented paste; boiling water is afterwards thrown upon it, and it is drunk off directly, before it hath time to turn black.

Connections of Paraguay with the neighbouring countries, and with Spain.

THE herb of Paraguay is of no consequence to Europe, which doth not consume any of it; nor do we interest ourselves more about the trade, which this district carries on with the other regions of the New World, in excellent mules.

THIS useful animal is generally multiplied upon the territory of Buenos-Ayres. The inhabitants of the Tucuman carry there woods for building, and wax, which they exchange every year for sixty thousand mules of two years old, which formerly cost no more than three livres* each, but which now cost from eight to ten†. They are kept fourteen months in the pastures of Cordova, eight in those of Salta, and are conducted through roads of six, seven, and nine hundred leagues, by herds of fifteen hundred or two thousand, into Peru, where they are sold near Oruro, Cusco, and Guanaca-Velica, at the rate of seventy or a hundred livres‡, according to the greater or less distance they come from.

BESIDE this, the Tucuman furnishes to Potosi sixteen or eighteen thousand oxen, and four or five thousand horses, brought forth and reared upon it's own territory. This district would supply twenty times as much of both, if it were possible to find a mart for them.

It will perhaps be a matter of more consequence to our merchants, to know the route the

* 2s 6d † From 6s 8d to 8s 4d
‡ From 2l. 18s 4d to 4l. 3s 4d,

cargoes take, which they send into this part of this B O O L
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hemisphere

THERE is seldom any connection between the villages scattered over this region, at a great distance from each other. Beside that it could not be kept up without great fatigue and much danger, it would be of little use to men who have not any thing, or who have scarce any thing, to offer or to require. Buenos Ayres alone was much interested in finding a vent for the merchandise it received from Europe, sometimes openly, and sometimes fraudulently, and it at last succeeded in opening a tolerably regular trade with Chili and with Peru. Originally the caravans, which carried on this traffic, had recourse to the use of the needle to conduct them through the vast deserts they were obliged to traverse, but in process of time they have travelled without this instrument, which is so necessary for other purposes of much greater importance.

AT present, carriages set out from Buenos-Ayres for their respective destinations. Several of them go together, in order to be able to resist the savage nations which attack them on their march. They are all drawn by four oxen, carry fifty quintals, and travel seven leagues a day. Those which take the route of Peru stop at Ja-guy, after having gone over four hundred and sixty seven leagues, and those which are destined for Chili have no more than two hundred and sixty four to go over to reach Mendoza. The first receive four piastres, or twenty one livres eight sols * per quintal, and the second a price proportioned to the space they have travelled over. These carriages are always followed by a herd of woolly and horned cattle. The travellers who are

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tired or fatigued with the carriage ride upon the horses; the oxen serve both for food, and also for change in the harness.

THE year 1764, was the fortunate period of another useful institution. The ministry had at length determined to dispatch, every two months, from Corunna, a packet-boat for Buenos-Ayres. This was a staple from which it was necessary to send the letters and passengers into all the Spanish possessions in the South Sea. The passage was nine hundred and forty-six leagues to Lima, and three hundred and sixty-four to St. Yago; and a part of this vast space was occupied by immense deserts. An active and intelligent man contrived, however, to establish a regular post from the capital of Paraguay, to the capitals of Peru and Chili, to the great advantage of the three colonies, and consequently of the mother-country.

PARAGUAY sends several articles of greater or less importance to Spain; but they have all been brought there from neighbouring districts. The only thing it furnishes from it's own territory is hides.

WHEN the Spaniards forsook Buenos-Ayres in 1539, in order to go up the river again, they left in the neighbouring fields some horned cattle, which they had brought over from their own country. They multiplied to such a degree, that when the town was re-established, no one chose to appropriate them. It was afterwards found useful to knock them on the head, in order to sell their hides in Europe. The manner of doing this is remarkable.

A NUMBER of huntsmen on horseback repair to such places as are mostly frequented by the wild bulls. Each huntsman pursues the bull he fixes upon, and hamstringing him with a sharp iron cut

in the shape of a crescent, and fastened to a long handle. When the animal falls down, the hunter attacks others, and disables them in the same manner. After some days spent in this violent exercise, the hunters return in search of the bulls they have disabled, which they slay, carry away the hides, and sometimes the tongues and the fat: the rest they leave to be devoured by wild dogs or vultures.

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THE price of hides was so low at first, that they cost no more than two livres*, though the buyers refused those that had the least defect, because they were subject to the same tax as others that were in the best condition. In process of time, the number of them diminished so much, that it was necessary to give forty-three livres four sols† for the large ones, thirty seven livres sixteen sols‡ for those of an intermediate size, and thirty two livres eight sols§ for the small ones. The government, which saw with regret this branch of commerce gradually reduced to nothing, forbade the killing of the young bulls. Some active inhabitants collected a great number of heifers in immense parks, and since these innovations have been made, the hides, which have all the hair on, and which weigh from twenty to fifty pounds, have been lowered about a third in their price. They all pay eleven livres|| to government.

FROM 1748 to 1753, Spain received annually from this colony 8,752,065 livres¶. The gold that made part of this sum amounted to 1,524,705 livres**, the silver to 3,783,000 livres††, and the productions to 3,447,360 livres‡‡. The last

* 15 8d

† 11 11s 6d

|| 9s 2d

** 63,529l 17s 6d

‡‡ 143,642l

† 11 16s

§ 11 7s

¶ 1,524,705l 7s 6d

†† 3,783,000l

‡‡ 3,447,360l

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article was composed of three hundred quintals of Vicuña wool, which produced 207,360 livres* † and of one hundred and fifty thousand hides, which brought 3,240,000 livres‡. All this was for the benefit of trade, and none of it belonged to the government.

THE mother-country will soon receive from this region other articles of value; both because the colony of Saint Sacrament, through which the riches used to flow, is now taken out of the hands of the Portuguese, and because Paraguay hath acquired a state of greater importance than that which it enjoyed.

A fortunate innovation, which must improve the state of Paraguay.

THE immense empire which Castile had founded in South America, was for a long time subordinate to one single chief. The parts that were distant from the center of authority, were then necessarily abandoned to the caprices, the inexperience, and the rapacity of a multitude of subaltern tyrants. No Spaniard, and no Indian, was mad enough to travel thousands of miles in order to lay claim to justice, which he was almost certain of not obtaining. The force of habit, which so often stifles the voice of reason, and which governs states with still more absolute sway than it does individuals, prevented men from discerning the true cause of so many calamities. At length the confusion became so general, that what is called the New Kingdom of Gránada was detached, in 1718, from this enormous extent of dominion. It still remained much too considerable; and the ministry have again confined it, in 1766, by forming of part of the diocese of Cusco, of the whole of that of La Paz, of the Archbishopric of La Plata, of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, of Cuyo, of Tucuman, and of Paraguay, another vicerealty; the seat of which is at Buenos-Ayres. The government will, undoubtedly, soon regulate

late the destiny of these singular missions, which have been rendered equally celebrated by the praises of their panegyrist, as by the satires of their detractors

AMERICA had been laid waste during the course of a century, when the Jesuits conveyed there that indefatigable activity, which, from their first origin, had made them so singularly remarkable. These enterprising men could not recall from the tomb, the too numerous victims which had been unfortunately plunged into it by a blind ferociousness, they could not drag out of the bowels of the earth, the timid Indians whom the avarice of the conquerors obliged daily to descend there. Their tender anxiety was turned towards the savages, whom a wandering life had, 'till then, preserved from the sword and from tyranny. The plan was to draw them out of their forests and to collect them into a national body, but at a distance from the places inhabited by the oppressors of the New Hemisphere. These views were crowned with more or less success, in California, among the Moxos, among the Chiquitos, upon the river Amazon, and in some other countries. Nevertheless, none of their institutions acquired so great a degree of splendour as that which was formed at Paraguay, because it had for its basis the maxims followed by the Incas in the government of their empire, and in their conquests.

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Principles on which the Jesuits founded their missions in Paraguay

THE descendants of Manco Capac, used to march to their frontiers with armies, which at least knew how to obey, to fight, and to intrench themselves, and who, together with better offensive weapons than those of the savages, had also shields and defensive weapons, which their enemies had not. They proposed to the nation which they wanted to unite to their government, to embrace

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brace their religion, laws, and manners. These invitations were most commonly rejected. Fresh deputies were sent, who urged these matters more strenuously than the former. Sometimes they were murdered; and the savages fell suddenly upon those whom they represented. The troops that were attacked, had generally the advantage; but they suspended the fight the instant they had gained the victory; and treated their prisoners so kindly, that they afterwards inspired their companions with an affection for a conqueror so humane. A Peruvian army seldom began the attack, and the Inca hath often been known to forbear hostilities, even after he had experienced the perfidy of the barbarians, and several of his soldiers had been murdered.

The Jesuits, who had no army, confined themselves to the arts of persuasion. They penetrated into the forests in search of the savages, and prevailed upon them to renounce their old customs and prejudices, to embrace a religion which they did not comprehend, and to enjoy the sweets of society, to which they were before strangers.

The Incas had another advantage over the Jesuits, which was the nature of their religion calculated to strike the senses. It is an easy matter to persuade men to worship the (which seems to announce it's own divinity to mortals, than to adore an invisible God, and to believe doctrines and mysteries which they can comprehend. Accordingly, the missionaries had the prudence to civilize the savages in some measure, before they attempted to convert them. They did not pretend to make them Christians, till they had made them men. As soon as they had got them together, they began to procure them every advantage they had promised them, and induced them to embrace Christianity, when,
by

by making them happy, they had contributed to render them tractable. BOOK
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THEY imitated the example of the Incas in the division of the lands into three shares; for religious purposes, for the public, and for individuals; they encouraged working for orphans, old people and soldiers; they rewarded great actions; they inspected or censured the morals of the people; they practised acts of benevolence; they established festivals, and intermixed them with laborious employments; they appointed military exercises, kept up a spirit of subordination, invented preservatives against idleness, and inspired them with respect for religion and virtue; in a word, whatever was valuable in the legislation of the Incas, was adopted, or even improved upon at Paraguay.

THE Incas and the Jesuits had alike established such a system of regularity and order, as prevented the commission of crimes, and removed the necessity of punishment. There was hardly such a thing as a delinquent in Paraguay. The morals of the people were good, and were maintained in this state of purity by still milder methods than had been made use of in Peru. The laws had been severe in that empire, they were not so among the Guaranis. Punishments were not dreaded there, and men feared nothing but the reproach of their own conscience.

AFTER the example of the Incas, the Jesuits had established the theocratical government, with an additional advantage peculiar to the Christian religion, this was the practice of confession, which, in Paraguay, brought the guilty person to the feet of the magistrate. There, far from palliating his crime, remorse made him rather aggravate it; and instead of endeavouring to elude his punishment, he implored it on his knees.

knees The more public and severe it was, the more did it contribute to quiet his conscience By these means, punishment, which in all other places is the terror of the guilty, was here considered as a source of consolation to them, as it stifled the pangs of remorse by the expiation of the guilt The people of Paraguay had no civil laws, because they knew of no property, nor had they any criminal ones, because every one was his own accuser, and voluntarily submitted to punishment their only laws were the precepts of religion Theocracy would be the most excellent of all governments, if it were possible to preserve it in it's purity, but to effect this, it would be necessary that religion should teach nothing but the duties of society, that it should consider nothing as a crime but what violates the natural rights of mankind, that it's precepts should not substitute prayers in lieu of labour, vain ceremonies instead of works of charity, or imaginary scruples to just remorse This was not entirely the case at Paraguay The Spanish missionaries had brought along with them too many of their monastic notions and practices Perhaps, however, so much good had never been done to men, with so little injury

THERE were more arts and conveniences in the republics of the Jesuits, than there had been even in Cusco itself, without more luxury The use of coin was unknown there The watchmaker, weaver, locksmith, and taylor, all deposited their works in public warehouses They were supplied with every necessary of life, and the husbandman had laboured for them The religious institutors, assisted by magistrates who were chosen by the people, attended to the several wants of the whole community

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bonds of the same religion, were a security against any scarcity that might happen from the inconsistency or inclemency of the seasons, where public justice had never been reduced to the cruel necessity of condemning a single malefactor to death, to ignominy, or to any punishment of long duration; where the very names of a tax or a lawsuit, those two terrible scourges which every where else afflict mankind, were unknown, such a country must naturally be expected to have been the most populous in the world, and yet it was far from being so.

THIS empire, which began in the year 1610, extends from the river Parana, which runs into the Paragua under the 20th degree of south latitude, to the Uruguay that falls into the same river towards the 34th degree. On the banks of those two great rivers, which descend from the mountains near Brazil, in the fertile plains that lie between them, the Jesuits had already, in 1676, settled twenty two colonies, though no account hath been given of their degree of population. In 1702, there were twenty-nine, consisting in all of 22,761 families, which amounted to 89,491 souls. No account, that can be depended upon, ever made the number of villages amount to more than thirty two, nor that of the inhabitants to more than 121,168.

THESE religious legislators have long been suspected of concealing the number of their subjects, with a view of defrauding Spain of the tribute these people had voluntarily submitted to pay, and the court of Madrid hath discovered some anxiety on that account. An exact inquiry hath dispelled those injurious and ill grounded suspicions. Can it with any probability be supposed, that a society, whose idol was always glory, should, for a mean and sordid interest, sacrifice a
sense

sense of greatness, adequate to the majesty of an **B O O K**
 establishment they were forming with so much **VIII.**
 care and pains?

Those who were too well acquainted with the genius of the society, to charge it with such injurious and illiberal accusations, have pretended that the number of the Guaranis did not increase, because they perished by working in the mines. This accusation, urged above a hundred years ago, hath been propagated by the same spirit of avarice, envy, and malignity, that first invented it. The greater pains the Spanish ministry have employed in search of these hidden treasures, the more they have been convinced that they were all chimerical. If the Jesuits had discovered any such treasures, they certainly would have taken care to conceal the discovery; which, if known, would have introduced every kind of vice; by which their empire would soon have been subverted, and their power totally destroyed.

OTHERS are of opinion that the oppression of monkish government must have checked the population of the Guaranis. But oppression consists in imposing labour and exacting tribute by compulsion; in arbitrary levies of men or money to supply armies and fleets, destined for destruction; in the violent execution of laws made without the consent of the people, and contrary to the remonstrances of the magistrates; in the violation of public, and the establishment of private privilege; in the inconsistency of the principles of an authority, which, under pretence of being founded by divine will on the right of the sword, lays claim to every thing by the one, and commands every thing by the other; which makes use of force to establish religion, and of religion to influence the decisions of justice: this is oppression. But it can never exist; where every
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action is the result of voluntary submission, and proceeds from inclination founded on conviction, and where nothing is done but from choice and full approbation. This is that gentle sway of opinion, the only one, perhaps, that it is lawful for one man to exercise over another, because it makes those people happy who submit to it. Such, undoubtedly, was that of the Jesuits in Paraguay, since whole nations came voluntarily to incorporate themselves into their government, and none have ever thrown off the yoke. It cannot be pretended that fifty missionaries could have been able to compel a hundred thousand Indians to be their slaves, who had it in their power either to massacre their priests, or to take refuge in the deserts. This strange paradox would be equally rejected by men of a sanguine or of a credulous disposition.

SOME persons have suspected that the Jesuits, had propagated that love of celibacy among their people, which was so prevalent in Europe in the dark ages of ignorance, and is not yet entirely eradicated, notwithstanding it hath constantly been urged how contrary it is to nature, reason, and society. But this opinion is entirely without foundation. The missionaries have never even given any idea to their converts, of a superstition which was totally improper and inconsistent with the climate, and would have been sufficient to prejudice them against their best institutions, or to defeat the design of them.

POLITICIANS have further endeavoured to account for the want of population among the Guaranis, from their having no property. The idea under which we consider property, namely as a source of the increase both of men and subsistence, is an unquestionable truth, but such is
the

the fate of the best institutions, that our errors BOOK
VIII. will often threaten their destruction. Under the law of property, when it is attended with avarice, ambition, luxury, a multitude of imaginary wants, and various other irregularities arising from the imperfections of our governments, and from the bounds of our possessions, either too confined, or too extended, prevent, at the same time, both the fertility of our lands and the increase of our species. These inconveniences existed not in Paraguay. All were sure of subsistence; consequently all enjoyed the great advantages of property, though deprived, in a strict sense, of the right to it. This privation cannot justly be considered as the reason that hath impeded the progress of population among them.

A MERCENARY writer, or one who is blinded by his hatred, hath ventured to publish, lately, in the face of the whole universe, that the territory occupied by the Guaranis could not subsist more than the number of men who existed upon it, and that the missionaries, rather than suffer them to extend themselves so as to have an intercourse with the Spaniards, had themselves stopped the progress of population, by persuading, as it is said, their converts to let their children perish, because they would be so many beings predestined to salvation, and so many protectors to them. Man or devil! whichever thou art, hast thou reflected upon the atrociousness, and the extravagance of thy accusation? Hast thou any idea of the insult thou hast offered to thy rulers, and to thy fellow-citizens, in supposing that thou shouldst obtain their favour or their esteem by such aspersions? How much must thy nation have degenerated from the dignity and generosity of it's character, if it did not partake of my indignation upon this occasion!

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To the chimerical notions we have been refuting, let us endeavour to substitute the real, or the probable causes of this deficiency of population.

FIRST, the Portuguese of St. Paul, in 1631, destroyed twelve or thirteen communities in the province of Guayra, bordering upon Brazil. These ruffians, whose number did not amount to more than two hundred and seventy-five, could not indeed bring away more than nine hundred of the twenty-two thousand Guaranis that composed this rising colony: but several of them were destroyed by misery and by the sword. Several of them returned to their savage life. Scarce twelve thousand of them escaped upon the borders of the Parana and of the Uruguay, where it had been resolved to fix them.

THE passion which the devastators had for making slaves was not stifled by this emigration. They pursued their timid victims into their new asylum; and, in process of time, would have dispersed, enslaved, or assassinated all of them, unless the Indians could be supplied with arms similar to those of their aggressors.

It was a nice matter to make this proposal: for it was a maxim with Spain not to introduce the use of fire-arms among the ancient inhabitants of the other hemisphere, in the apprehension that they might one day use them themselves to recover their primitive rights. The Jesuits approved of this precaution, as being necessary with nations whose subjection was compelled: but they judged it to be useless with people, who were freely attached to the kings of Spain by such easy bands, that they could be under no temptation of breaking them. The arguments or the solicitations of the missionaries prevailed over opposition and prejudice. In 1639 fire-locks

locks were given to the Guaranis, and this favour B O O K
delivered them for ever from the greatest of dan- VIII.
gers they could incur.

THIS cause of destruction was succeeded by others of a more obscure nature. The custom had prevailed, to send annually, to the distance of two or three hundred leagues from their frontiers, some of the inhabitants of the villages to collect the herb of Paraguay, for which they were known to have an unsurmountable desire. In these long and fatiguing journies, several of them perished with hunger and fatigue. Sometimes, during their absence, their plantations, deprived of most of their defenders, were laid waste by wandering savages. These defects were scarce corrected before the missions were afflicted with a new calamity.

AN unfortunate concurrence of circumstances brought among them the small-pox; the baneful influence of which, was more destructive in this district than in the rest of the New World. This contagion did not diminish, and continued uninterruptedly to heap one victim upon another. Were the Jesuits ignorant of the salutary effects of inoculation upon the borders of the Amazon, or did they, from motives of superstition, decline to adopt a practice, the advantages of which are so well ascertained?

BUT it was the climate which more particularly stopped the progress of population among the Guaranis. The country they occupied, chiefly on the Parana, was hot, damp, and incessantly covered with thick and immoveable fogs. These vapours gave rise, in every season, to contagious disorders; and these calamities were aggravated by the propensities of the inhabitants. Inheriting the voracious appetites which their fathers had brought with them from the midst of the forest,

B O O K forest, they fed upon green fruit, and ate meat
 { **VIII** that was almost raw, while neither reason, nor
 authority, nor experience, could root out these
 inveterate habits. The mias of blood being thus
 corrupted by the air and by the food, it was im-
 possible that a numerous and long lived offspring
 should be produced.

Examina- In order to insure the felicity of the Guaranis,
tion of the whatever their number were, or might be, their
reproaches institutors had originally settled with the court of
made to Madrid, that these people should never be em-
the Jesuits ployed in the labours of the mines, nor subjected
concern- to any vassalage. They soon found that this
ing their first stipulation was not sufficient to procure
in fflions tranquillity to the new republics, and occasioned
 it to be decreed, that the Spaniards should be ex-
 cluded from them, under whatever denomination
 they presented themselves. They foresaw, that if
 they were admitted as traders, or even as tra-
 vellers, they would excite commotions in those
 peaceable retreats, and would introduce vice and
 every species of corruption. These rapacious and
 destructive conquerors were the more offended at
 these measures, as they were approved by prudent
 men. Their resentment broke out in imputations,
 for which there was an apparent, and, perhaps, a
 real foundation.

THE missionaries traded for the nation. They
 sent to Buenos Ayres wax, tobacco, hides, cor-
 ton both raw and spun, and received in ex-
 change, vases and ornaments for the temples,
 iron, arms, toys, some European commodities
 that were not manufactured in the colony, and
 metals designed for the payment of the tribute
 due from the male Indians from twenty to fifty
 years of age. As far as it is possible to judge,
 and penetrate into the mystery which hath always
 surrounded these objects, the wants of the state
 did

did not absorb the entire profit of the sales. The rest was secreted for the benefit of the Jesuits. Accordingly, they were traduced in all parts of the world as a society of merchants, who, under the veil of religion, attended only to their own sordid interest.

THIS censure could not fall upon the first founders of Paraguay. The deserts through which they travelled, afforded neither gold nor mercantile commodities. In these they only met with forests, serpents, and morasses; sometimes they perished, or were exposed to the most severe torments, and always to excessive fatigue. The hardships they endured with so much patience, and the pains they took to induce the savages to quit their roving life, are not to be conceived. They never entertained the idea of appropriating to themselves the produce of a land, which their care only prevented from being a haunt of wild beasts. Their successors may probably have been actuated by less noble and disinterested views; probably they might seek an increase of fortune and power, where they ought to have only sought the glory of Christianity and the good of mankind. It was certainly a great crime to rob the people of America, in order to acquire consequence in Europe, and to increase over the whole world, an influence already too dangerous. If any thing could diminish our abhorrence of so great a crime, it is, that the happiness of the Indians was never affected by it. They never appeared to desire any thing beyond those conveniences which they generally enjoyed.

THOSE who have not accused the Jesuits of avarice, have censured their institutions in Paraguay, as being the effect of blind superstition. If our idea of superstition be the true one, it retards the progress of population; it devotes to

useless

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useless ceremonies the time that should be employed in the labours of society; it deprives the laborious man of his property, to enrich the indolent and dangerous recluse; it promotes discord and civil wars for things of little moment; it gives the signal for revolt in the name of God; it frees it's ministers from obedience to the laws, and from the duties of society; in a word, it makes the people miserable, and arms the wicked against the virtuous. Have any of these calamities been found among the Guaranis? If their happy institutions be the effect of superstition, this is the only instance in which it ever was beneficial to mankind.

POLITICIANS, who are ever restless and suspicious, seemed to be apprehensive that the republics formed by the Jesuits might one day detach themselves from the power under the protection of which they had been raised. The inhabitants appeared to them as the best disciplined soldiers of the New Hemisphere. They considered them as obedient from a principle of religion, added to the energy of their new manners, and as fighting with the same zeal that brought so many martyrs to the scaffold, and overthrew so many empires by the arms of the followers of Wodin and Mohammed. But it was their form of government which particularly excited their alarms.

IN ancient forms of government, civil and religious authority, which are derived from the same source, and tend to the same end, have always been united; or the one hath been so subservient to the other, that the people could not venture to separate them in idea, and were equally kept in awe by both. Christianity introduced another kind of spirit in Europe, and formed, at it's first origin, a secret rivalship between these two powers,

powers, the one of arms, the other of opinion. BOOK
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 This disposition manifested itself particularly when the barbarous nations of the north made incursions upon the Roman empire. The Christians, persecuted by the heathen emperors, hastened to implore the assistance of these foreigners against oppression. They preached to these conquerors a new system of religion, which enjoined to them as a duty to extirpate the established one; and they demanded the ruins of the temples, in order to erect their own sanctuaries upon these magnificent spoils.

THE savages freely disposed of what was not their property; they sacrificed to Christianity all it's enemies and their own; they seized upon the persons of men and upon their lands, and distributed some of them to the church. They demanded tribute; but exempted the clergy from it, because they countenanced their usurpations. Noblemen became priests, and priests obtained the rank of nobility. The great connected the privileges of their birth with that of the priesthood which they embraced. The bishops imprinted the seal of religion on the domains they possessed. From this mixture and confusion of birth with high stations, of titles with estates, and of persons with things, sprang up a monstrous power, which, from the first, endeavoured to establish itself as distinct from the only true authority, which is, - that of government; a power, which afterwards attempted even to raise itself above government; but having been unsuccessful *in the attempt, hath since submitted to separate itself from it, and to exert it's authority in secret over those who were willing to acknowledge it.* These two powers have been always so much at variance, that they have constantly disturbed the harmony of all states.

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THE Jesuits of Paraguay, who were well acquainted with this source of division, have been warned by the mischief their society hath often done in Europe, and have exerted themselves to promote the real happiness of America. They have united both powers in one; which gave them the entire disposal of the thoughts, affections, and faculties of their converts,

Whether the people were happy in these missions, and whether they have regretted their legislators?

DID such a system of government render the legislators formidable? Some persons thought so in the New World; and this opinion was much more prevalent in the old one; but in all parts, the necessary information was wanting to decide the point. The readiness, perhaps unexpected, with which the missionaries have evacuated what was called their empire, hath seemed to shew that they were incapable of maintaining themselves in it. They have even been less regretted there than it was thought they would be. It is not that these people had any cause to complain of the negligence or severity of their leaders. An indifference so extraordinary, proceeded undoubtedly from the wearisomeness which these Americans, apparently so happy, must have experienced, during the course of a life too uniform not to be languid, and under a government which, when considered in it's true point of view, resembled rather a religious community than a political institution.

How was it possible that a whole nation should live without reluctance under the restraint of an austere law, which is not capable of subjecting a small number of men, although they may have put themselves under it's controul from a spirit of enthusiasm, and from the most sublime motives, without inspiring them with melancholy, and without souering their tempers? The Guaranis were a species of monks; and there is not, perhaps, a single monk, who at some time or other hath

hath not detested his habit. Their duties were tyrannically enforced, no fault escaped punishment, and order established it's controul in the midst of pleasures. The Guaranis, whose conduct was closely inspected even in their amusements, could not give themselves up to any kind of excess. Noisy mirth and freedom were banished from these melancholy festivals. These manners were too austere. The state of equality to which these people were reduced, and from which it was impossible they should raise themselves, expelled every kind of emulation from among them. One Guaranis had no sort of motive to induce him to excel another. He had acted sufficiently well, when there was no cause of complaint against him, and when he could not be punished for having done ill. Did not also the privation of all property exert some influence over the most tender connections? It is not enough for the happiness of man, that he should have what is sufficient for him; he must also have something to bestow. A Guaranis could not be a benefactor to his wife, his children, his relations, his friends; or his countrymen; neither could any of these do good for him. He felt no kind of appetency. If he was without vice, he was also without virtue; he neither loved nor was beloved. A Guaranis, with passions, would have been the most wretched of beings; and a man without them exists not, either in the midst of forests, in society, or in a cell. There is no passion but that of love, which, being irritated and increased by restraint, could possibly find it's advantage in them. But can it be supposed that the Guaranis retained nothing of the sense of their savage state of liberty? Let the reader take no account of what hath been written, and reflect only upon the few lines I now shall add. The Guaranis had never any thing but very
 confused

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confused ideas of what they owed to the care of their legislators, while they, in the most lively manner, were continually sensible of their despotism. At the time that they were expelled, these people readily persuaded themselves that they should be free; and that their happiness would not be diminished by it. All kind of authority is more or less odious; and this is the reason why all masters, without exception, are paid with ingratitude from their servants.

Preliminary steps taken by the court of Spain for the government of these missions.

WHEN the missions of Paraguay were taken out of the hands of the Jesuits in 1768, they were arrived, perhaps, to the highest degree of civilization to which it is possible to bring recent nations, and which was certainly very superior to every thing that existed in the rest of the New Hemisphere. The laws were observed; an exact police was established; the manners were pure; and all the inhabitants were united by brotherly love. All the arts of necessity were improved, and some of those of luxury were known. Plenty was universal, and the public stores were filled. The number of horned cattle amounted to seven hundred and sixty-nine thousand three hundred and fifty-three, that of mules and horses, to ninety-four thousand nine hundred and eighty-three; and that of sheep to two hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred and thirty seven, without reckoning other domestic animals.

AUTHORITY, which had been hitherto concentrated in the same hands, was divided. A chief; to whom three lieutenants were given, was charged with the government of the country. Every thing that concerned religion was committed to the care of the monks of the orders of Saint Dominick, Saint Francis, and La Merci.

THIS is the only change that hath been hitherto made in the former arrangements. The court of Madrid

Madrid certainly wished to examine, whether the order that was established was to be maintained or altered? Attempts have been made to persuade them to withdraw the Guaranis from a district rather unwholesome, and not sufficiently fertile, in order to people with them the uninhabited borders of the Rio Plata, from Buenos-Ayres to Assumption. If this plan be adopted, and that the people should refuse to quit the land of their forefathers, they will be reduced to the necessity of dispersing themselves; if they should accede to the views of Spain, they will no longer form a national body. Whatever may happen, the most beautiful edifice that has been raised in the New World will be overthrown.

BUT this is enough, and perhaps too much, upon the circumstances and revolutions, more or less important, which have agitated Spanish America during the course of three centuries. It is time to ascend to the principles which directed the foundation of this great empire, and to trace, without malignity as without flattery, the consequences of a system of which antiquity hath not left, and could not possibly leave, any model. We shall begin, by giving an account of the several species of men which are at present collected in this immense region.

WE shall not reckon among the inhabitants of the New Hemisphere, either the commanders who are commissioned to give them laws, or the troops destined to protect and contain them, or the merchants employed in supplying their wants. These several orders of men do not settle in America, but return all of them to Europe after a shorter or a longer stay. Among the persons sent by public authority, there are scarce any except a few magistrates, and a few subaltern directors, who fix themselves in these distant regions. The law

BOOK VIII. law prohibits every citizen from going there without the consent of government; but men who are known, easily obtain this permission, and obscure persons frequently go there clandestinely. Individuals are powerfully stimulated to this emigration, by the hope of making a large fortune, and sometimes, also, by the certainty of acquiring a degree of consideration which they would not have enjoyed in the place of their origin. It is sufficient to be born in Spain, to obtain distinguished marks of respect; but this advantage is not transmitted. The children that are brought forth in this other World are not honoured with the name of *Chapetons*, as their fathers were; they are simply called *Creoles*.

The
Creoles.

THIS is the name given to those who are of Spanish issue in the New Hemisphere. Many of them descend from the first conquerors, or their immediate successors; and others have had illustrious ancestors. Most of them have purchased or obtained distinguished titles; but few of them have directed the great springs of government. Whether the court thought them incapable of application, or whether they were apprehensive they should prefer the interest of their own to that of the mother-country, they excluded them early from places of trust, and seldom deviated from this system, whether it were a proper, or an improper one. This contempt, or this mistrust, discouraged them, and they lost, in the vices arising from idleness, from the heat of the climate, and from the abundance of all things, the remainder of that elevation of mind, of which such great examples had been left them. A barbarous luxury, pleasures of a shameful kind, a stupid superstition, and romantic intrigues, completed the degradation of their character. One road still remained open to the ambition of these colonists

colonists who are in some measure proscribed ^{BOOK} upon their native land. The court, the army, ^{VIII} the courts of justice, and the church, are pursuits of greater or less estimation in Spain, which they are at liberty to follow. A very small number, however, have entered into them, either because their minds are entirely corrupted, or because the distance renders the access to them difficult. Some of less distinguished birth have turned, even in America, their activity and their faculties to the great operations of trade, and these have been the most prudent and the most useful.

THE same superiority which the Chapetons affected over the Creoles, the latter assumed over the Mestees. These are the race proceeding from a European with an Indian woman. The Spaniards, who, at the first period of the discovery, landed in the New World, had no women with them. Some of the most considerable of them waited 'till women were sent from Europe. Most of them plighted their faith to the most distinguished, or the most agreeable girls of the country. Frequently even they became mothers without being married. The law ordained, that these children, legitimate or illegitimate, should enjoy the same privileges as their fathers, but prejudice placed them in a lower rank. It is 'scarcely 'till after three generations, that is to say, when their complexion differs in nothing from that of the white men, who are all very dark, that in the ordinary course of civil life, they are treated as the other Creoles are. Before they can attain to so flattering an equality, these Mestees, who are every where very numerous, and whose species is uninterruptedly renewed, were mostly employed in the mechanic arts, and in the minutest details of trade. When they have acquired a greater share of dignity, they are still obliged to

continue

BOOK VIII. continue the same labours, 'till some fortunate alliance, or some particular circumstance, enables them to pass their useless days in pleasure and idleness.

The Negroes. SCARCE had the New World been discovered, when Negroes were brought into it, in 1503. Eight years afterwards, a greater number of them was introduced, because experience had shewn, that they were infinitely better calculated for all the labours than the natives of the country. The government soon prohibited them, from an apprehension that they would corrupt the Americans, and incite them to revolt. Las Casas, who was deficient in proper notions concerning the rights of mankind, but who was incessantly employed in the relief of the Indians, to whom he was attached, obtained the revocation of a law, which he thought would be injurious to them. Charles V. permitted, in 1517, that four thousand of these slaves should be conveyed into the Spanish colonies; and the Flemish courtier who had obtained the profit of this traffic, sold his privilege to the Genoese.

At the expiration of this grant, this vile commerce ceased almost entirely; but the Portuguese having become subjects of the court of Madrid, revived it. It fell again, after these people had shaken off the yoke which they bore with so much impatience; and did not recover any activity, 'till the two nations came to be upon better terms with each other. At length, the subjects of the court of Lisbon engaged, in 1696, to furnish, in five years time, twenty-five thousand Negroes to their former tyrants; and they fulfilled this engagement with the assistance of their sovereign, who advanced two-thirds of the funds required for an undertaking which was then so considerable.

THE French, who had just been giving a king BOOK
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to Spain, too lightly took upon themselves, in 1702, the engagements of the Portuguese. Being deficient in settlements on the coast of Africa, little skilled in maritime operations, and having been unfortunate in the course of a long war, they did nothing of what they had so boldly promised.

THIS contract passed into the hands of the English at the peace of Utrecht. The South-Sea Company, to whom the British ministry gave it up, engaged to deliver, each of the thirty years that their charter was to last, four thousand eight hundred Africans to the Spanish settlements. They were confined to this number during the five last years of their grant; but all the rest of the time they were allowed to introduce as many as they could sell. They engaged to pay thirty-three piastres and one-third, or one hundred and eighty livres*, for each of the first four thousand Negroes; the other eight hundred were freed from this burdensome tribute, in indemnity for 1,080,000 livres† advanced to the court of Madrid, and which were only to be reimbursed in the course of ten years. This tribute was reduced to half for all the slaves that were not required by the contract. Philip V. indemnified himself for this sacrifice, by reserving the fourth part of the profits made by the company. The execution of this treaty was only interrupted by the hostilities which, in 1739, divided the two kingdoms. The peace of 1748 restored to the crown of England all it's rights; but the Company which represented it, were induced, by an indemnity that was offered to them, to give up the short remains of a grant, which they fore-

* 7l. 10s

† 45,000l.

BOOK saw they should not be allowed to enjoy without
 VIII. considerable restrictions.

ROBERT MAYNE, a merchant of London, succeeded, under a Spanish name, to the Association. Such was the dishonesty or the negligence of the agents whom he had settled at Buenos-Ayres, which was become the staple of the trade, that in 1752 he was ruined, and obliged to give up an undertaking, which, if more prudently managed, or more carefully attended to, ought to have yielded very considerable profits.

THE resolution was then taken to receive slaves at Porto Rico, which were to pay to government two hundred and sixteen livres * each, and which after having defrayed this heavy tax, were freely admitted upon the continent and in the islands. The English, who had treated with the governor of Cuba, fulfilled their engagements punctually, when the court of Madrid thought a change of system would be better calculated for their interest.

IN 1765, an association was formed between some Spanish, French, and Genoese commercial houses, settled at Cadiz. This company, which was ill served by its agents, and much loaded with debt, was going to be dissolved, when, in 1773, the ministry thought it prudent and equitable to offer some alleviation of the terms they had at first imposed upon it. The charter was prolonged, and the taxes diminished; and from that period, the importation of slaves hath acquired fresh activity. They are bought indiscriminately in all places where they can be procured to the best advantage.

SAVAGE Europeans! ye doubted at first whether the inhabitants of the regions you had just discovered were not animals which you might slay

without remorse, because they were black, and you were white. You almost envied them the knowledge of God, your common Father. Most horrid thought! But when you had permitted them also to raise their hands and eyes to heaven; when you had initiated them in your ceremonies and mysteries; made them join in their prayers and offerings, and in the hopes of a future state, afforded by one common religion, when you had acknowledged them to be your brethren; was not the general horror redoubled, at seeing you trample under foot the ties of this sacred consanguinity? You have put them more upon an equality with yourselves; and yet you go to distant parts in order to buy and sell them! You sell them, too, as you would a base herd of cattle! In order to repeople one part of the globe, which you have laid waste, you corrupt and depopulate another. If death be preferable to slavery, are ye not still more inhuman upon the coasts of Africa, than ye have been in the regions of America? English, French, Spaniards, Dutch, or Portuguese, let me suppose that I am conversing with one of you about a treaty concluded between two civilized nations; and that I should ask him, what kind of compensation he imagines may have been agreed upon in the exchange you have made? He will think it to consist in gold, provisions, privileges, a town, or a province; while, on the contrary, it consists in a greater or less number of your fellow-creatures, which the one gives up to the other to dispose of at pleasure. But such is the infamy of this unnatural contract, that it doth not even present itself to the ideas of the contracting parties.

EVERY thing announces, that the court of Spain will shake off the dependence they had upon foreign nations for their slaves. This is the only

BOOK view they can possibly have had, in requiring of
 VIII. Portugal, in 1771, the cession of two of their
 islands on the African coast.

LABORIOUS cultivations, and some mines of a particular kind, have employed part of the slaves introduced upon the Spanish continent in the New World. The service of the rich hath been the destiny of the greater number. These have soon become the confidants of their master's pleasures; and by this infamous employment they have gained their liberty. Their descendants have allied themselves sometimes with the Europeans, and sometimes with the 'Mexicans,' and have formed the vigorous and numerous race of the Mulattoes, which, as that of the Mestees, but two or three generations later, acquires the colour and the rank of white people. Those among them who are still in slavery have assumed a determined superiority over the wretched and poor. This superiority they owe to the favour granted to them by government. For this reason, the Africans, who, in the settlements of other nations, are the enemies of the white people, are become their defenders in the Spanish Indies.

BUT why should the favour of government be bestowed upon the slave that was bought, in preference to the slave that was conquered? It is, because the injury done to the latter was of more ancient date, and greater than the injury done to the former; that the latter was accustomed to the yoke, and that the former was to be broken to it; and that the slave of a master, whom a system of policy hath made master of a slave, is brought, by this distinction, to take part with the common tyrant. If the African, who is the defender of the white people in the Spanish Indies, hath been their enemy in all other parts, it is, because in all other parts he hath always obeyed,
 and

and never commanded; it is, because he was not comforted in his situation by the sight of one more wretched than his own. In the Spanish Indies, the African is alternately slave and master; in the settlements of other nations, he is perpetually a slave.

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THE Indians form the last class of inhabitants in a country which belonged entirely to their ancestors. The misfortunes of these people began even at the æra of the discovery. Columbus distributed lands at first to those who accompanied him, and attached some natives of the country to them in 1499. This arrangement was not approved of by the court, who, three years after, sent Ovando to St. Domingo, to restore these wretched people to liberty. This new commander, barbarous as he was, complied with the will of his sovereigns; but the indolence of the Americans, and the complaints of the Spaniards, soon determined him to put those whom he had set free again into chains, and to add still a greater number to them. But he decreed, that these slaves should reap some advantage from their labour, whether they were employed in the culture of the lands, or the working of the mines. In 1504, this arrangement was confirmed by Ferdinand and Isabella, with a proviso, that the stipend should be regulated by government.

Ancient
and pre-
sent state
of the In-
dies.

THE Dominicans, who had just arrived in the colony, were incensed at an arrangement which overthrew all former principles. They refused, in the confessional chair, absolution to those individuals who solicited, or even accepted those gifts, which were indiscriminately styled donations, or commanderies. They thundered out excommunication from the pulpit, against the authors or promoters of these injustices. The exclamations of these monks, so much revered at that

BOOK that time, 'resounded' throughout all Europe,
 VIII. where the custom; which they attacked with so
 much inveteracy, was again discussed in 1510;
 and was again confirmed.

IN 1516, the Indians found in Las Casas a more zealous, more intrepid, and more active protector, than those who had preceded him. His solicitations determined Ximenes, who at that time governed Spain with so much splendour, to send over to America three friars to determine upon this matter, which had already been twice decided. The decrees they pronounced were not such as were expected from their profession. They decided in favour of the commanderies; but excluded from them all the courtiers and favourites who did not reside in the New World.

LAS-CASAS, who had been declared the protector of the Indians by the minister himself, and who, invested with this honourable title, had accompanied the delegates, returned immediately into Spain, in order to devote to public indignation, men of a pious profession, whom he accused of having sacrificed humanity to political views. He succeeded in having them recalled, and Figueroa was substituted to them. This magistrate took the resolution to collect, in two large villages, a considerable body of Indians, whom he left entirely at their own disposal. The experiment did not turn out in their favour. The government concluded, from their stupidity, and their indolence, that the Americans were children incapable of conducting themselves, and their condition was not altered.

NEVERTHELESS, the clamours of many respectable persons were raised on all sides against these arrangements; and the states of Castile themselves demanded, in 1523, that they should be annulled.

annulled. Charles V. yielded to all these soli-
 citations. He forbid Cortez, who had just
 conquered Mexico, to give any commanderies,
 and enjoined him to revoke those he might al-
 ready have granted. When these orders arrived
 in New Spain, the repartitions were already
 settled, as in the other colonies, and the monarch's
 pleasure was not complied with.

FROM this, and all other countries subject to
 Castile, intelligence was constantly received, that
 no real or useful labours would be carried on in
 the New World, if the people who were subdued
 should for a moment cease to be at the disposal
 of their conquerors. The apprehension of having
 made the discovery of so rich a hemisphere
 without advantage, made a great impression upon
 the ministry: but, on the other hand, the idea
 of having invaded one half of the globe, merely
 to reduce the nations to slavery, was another
 point of view which could not fail of exciting
 some alarms in the government. In this uncer-
 tainty, commanderies were allowed, or prohi-
 bited at hazard. At length, in 1536, the go-
 vernment adopted the medium of giving a
 sanction to them, for two generations. Although
 they had been granted only for two years before
 this period, they were in reality perpetual, since
 there was not a single instance of the grant's not
 being renewed. The king continued to reserve
 to himself all the Indians settled in the ports or
 in the principal towns.

THE protector of these wretched people grew
 indignant at these ordinances. He spoke, he
 exerted himself, he summoned his nation to the
 tribunal of the whole universe, and made the two
 hemispheres shudder with horror. O! Las-
 Casas! thou wast greater by thy humanity, than
 all thy countrymen were, by their conquests.

Should

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Should it happen in future ages, that these unfortunate regions which they have invaded, should be peopled again, and that a system of laws, manners, and liberty, should be established among them, the first statue they would erect would be thine. We should see thee interposing between the American and the Spahiard, and presenting thy breast to the poniard of the one, in order to save the other. We should read, at the bottom of this monument, *IN AN AGE OF BARBARIETY, LAS-CASAS, WHOM THOU SEE'ST, WAS A BENEVOLENT MAN.* In the mean while thy name will remain engraved upon every feeling heart; and when thy countrymen shall blush at the barbarism of their pretended heroes, they will take pride in thy virtues. May these fortunate times not be so far distant as we apprehend they are!

CHARLES V. enlightened by his own reflections, or prevailed upon by the impetuous eloquence of Las-Casas, ordered, in 1542, that all the commanderiës which should become vacant, should be indiscriminately reunited to the crown. This decree was not in force in Mexico and Peru, and occasioned a bloody and obstinate war. The government were obliged to annul it three years after; but authority was established with sufficient solidity in 1549, to bid defiance to all complaints, and to be no longer impeded by the fear of insurrections.

At this period the Indians were freed from all personal services, and the tribute they were to pay to their commanders was regulated. The masters, hitherto so oppressive, were forbidden to reside in the extent of their jurisdiction, and to sleep there more than one night. They were also prohibited from having any dwelling there, from leaving their families, from possessing any lands,

lands, from breeding any cattle, and from establishing any manufactures. They were forbidden to intermix in marriage with their vassals, and to take any of them into their service. The person commissioned to collect their taxes, must have the sanction of the magistrate, and must give security against any vexations he should be guilty of.

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THE tax imposed upon the natives of the country, to make their conquerors subsist with a degree of dignity, is not even merely a gratuitous favour. These proud masters are obliged to collect their subjects in a village, to build them a church, and to pay the clergyman appointed to instruct them. They are obliged to fix their residence in the principal town of the province, in which their commandery is situated, and to have always horses and arms in readiness to repel an enemy, whether foreign or domestic. They are not permitted to absent themselves, till they have put a soldier, approved by government, in their place.

No material alterations were made in these regulations till 1568. It was then resolved that the commanderies, which, for thirty-two years past, had been granted for two lives, should continue to be given in the same manner; but that those, the revenue of which exceeded ten thousand eight hundred livres*, should be subject to pensions. All of them were in future to be proclaimed when they became vacant, and supposing the merit of the competitors equal, to be distributed in preference to the heirs of the conquerors, and, after them, to the descendants of the first colonists. The court, perceiving that these rewards were more fre-

* 450*l*. 7.

quently

BOOK VIII. frequently distributed by favour than by talents, or the claim of an ancient origin, ordered, in 1608, that they should be annulled, if the favours granted by the viceroys were not confirmed in six years for Peru, and in five for the rest of America. The chief of the commandery, however, entered into the enjoyment of his post as soon as he was appointed. It was only required of him to secure the restitution of the sums he might have received, if the choice that had been made of him were not ratified at the time prescribed by the ordinances.

At the beginning of the last century, the government appropriated to themselves the third part of the revenue of the commanderies. Soon after this, they took the whole of it into their hands, and forbade their delegates to fill up those that should become vacant. At length, they were all suppressed in 1720, except those that were given in perpetuity to Cortez, and to some hospitals or religious communities. At this period, so remarkable in the annals of the New World, the Indians were dependent only on the crown.

WAS this system the best that could possibly be adopted for the interest of Spain and the felicity of the other hemisphere? Who will be able to solve a problem, in which so many circumstances are complicated? The rights of justice, the sentiments of humanity; the private views of ministers; the sway of the moment, the ambition of the great; the rapaciousness of favourites, the projects of speculative men; the authority of the priesthood, the influence of the manners, and of prejudice; the character of the distant subjects, the nature of the climate, of the soil, and of the labours; the distance of places, the tardiness and contempt of the sovereign's

reign's orders; the tyranny of governors; the impunity of crimes; the uncertainty of accounts and of accusations; and such a multitude of other different matters. We need not therefore be surprised at the long uncertainty of the court of Madrid; when, in the center of European nations, at the foot of the throne, under the immediate inspection of the directors of the state, we see abuses subsisting, and often increasing on account of the absurdity of measures. The man, with whom they were surrounded, was then taken for the model of the man at a distance; and it was imagined that the same system of legislation which suited the one, was equally adapted to the other. In former times, and, perhaps, even at present, we confound with each other, two beings separated by immense differences, the savage and the civilized man; the man born in the center of liberty, and the man born in the shackles of slavery. The aversion of the savage for our cities, ariseth from the improper manner in which we have introduced ourselves into his forests.

At present, the Indians, who have not been settled in the towns, are all collected in villages, which they are not permitted to quit, and where they form municipal assemblies, over which their cacique presides. To each of these villages a territory of greater or less extent is attached, according to the nature of the soil, and the number of its inhabitants. Part of it is cultivated in common for the public necessities, and the rest is distributed to the families for their private use. The law hath ordained that this domain should be unalienable; some portions of it, however, are, from time to time, allowed to be detached from it, in favour of the Spaniards: but always with an annual charge upon it, for the profit of the

BOOK the sellers, under the inspection of government.
 VIII There is no institution which prevents the Indians from having lands belonging to them, but they have seldom the power or the inclination to make acquisitions

As disgrace breaks down all the springs of the mind, one of the causes of this poverty, and of this discouragement, must be the obligation imposed upon these people, of being alone devoted to the public labours. The law ordains that they should be paid for this humiliating labour, but the distance from whence they may be brought, and the time they may be detained, depends upon the government of the spot

ANOTHER duty imposed upon the Indians, is to be at the disposal of all the citizens, but merely for the manufactures, and the cultures of primary necessity, and this in rotation only, for eighteen days consecutively, and for a salary settled by the ordinances

THEY have still a more burdensome task, and that is the working of the mines. The directors were originally the sole regulators of this task. It was afterwards provided for by statutes, which were frequently varied. At present no Indians are called to the mines, except to those of Guanaca Velica, and of Potosi, which have particular privileges, who live at the distance of more than thirty miles. They are allowed four reals, or fifty four sols *, per day, they are detained no longer than six months, and the seventh part of a colony is only employed in them at Peru, and the twenty fifth part at Mexico. Frequently even there are a less number, because libertinism, cupidity, the expectation of thieving, and, perhaps, other motives, attract

* About 2s 3d

there, a great number of *Mestices*, *Mulattoes* and *BOOK*
natives. VIII.

A *TRIBUTE* which the male Indians, from eighteen to fifty years of age, pay to the government, completes this multitude of calamities. This tax, which was originally paid in provisions, is not the same in all parts. It is from eight to fifteen, twenty, thirty, and forty *livres**, according to the different periods when, at the request of the persons who paid it, it was converted into coin. The custom which prevailed with the government, of requiring always in money the value of the productions, the price of which varies with time and place, introduced these disproportions, which were greater, and consequently more destructive in South, than they were in North America, where the *capitation* is usually of nine *reals*, or six *livres* one *sol* six *deniers*†. The fourth part of this tax is distributed to the clergyman, to the *cacique*, and to the *Spaniard*, commissioned in each province to prevent the oppression of the Indians, or kept for the purpose of assisting the community in any of it's misfortunes. Such is the legal condition of the Indians: but no one can determine how much private injustice, adds weight to a burden already too heavy. That, among the vexations which hath most attracted the notice of government, hath proceeded from the officer, who is called an *Alcade* at Mexico, and a *Corregidor* at Peru.

THIS is a magistrate charged, under the inspection of the *viceroy*, or of the tribunals, with the administration of justice; with the management of the finances, of war, of police, and of every thing that can concern public order,

* From 6s. 8d. to 12s. 10d.—16s. 8d.—1l. 5s. and 1l. 13s. 4d.

† Rather more than five shillings.

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throughout the space of thirty, forty, and fifty leagues. Although the law prohibited him, as well as the other depositaries of authority, from undertaking any trade; yet, from the earliest times, he monopolized all that was possible to be carried on with the Indians under his jurisdiction. As he only remained five years in office, he used to deliver, almost as soon as he got in, the merchandise he had to sell, and employed the rest of his time in collecting in the payments. The oppression became general. The unfortunate natives of the country were always crushed by the enormity of the prices, and frequently by being obliged to take goods of no use to them, but which the tyrant himself had sometimes been compelled to receive from the merchants, who afforded him a long and hazardous credit. Every thing, or almost every thing, was refused to the poor, and those who enjoyed any kind of ease in their circumstances were overburdened. When the payments became due, they were exacted with barbarous severity, by a creditor who is at once both judge and party; and the most heavy penalties were inflicted upon the debtors, who failed either in the voluntary or compelled obligations they had entered into.

THE humane and equitable chiefs were sensibly affected with these enormities, which were more atrocious and more frequent in South, than they were in North America. They thought it, however, necessary to tolerate them, from an idea generally entertained, that if the chain which was formed was once to be broken, these indolent and thoughtless people would be in want of clothing, of instruments of agriculture, of cattle necessary for all the labours, and that they would immediately fall into a state of inaction and extreme misery. Some prudent men
endea-

endeavoured to reconcile interests that were so BOOK
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opposite to each other; but none of their ideas were found to be practicable. A sure method of lessening the mischief, would have been, to put the magistrates, who went to seek, in another hemisphere, a fortune which their native country refused them, upon a better footing: but the ministry would never consent to this increase of expence. Since the year 1751, the Alcades, and the Corregidors, are obliged to fix upon the place of their residence, the goods they have to sell, and the price they mean to put upon them. If they deviate from this rate, which is approved of by their superiors, they are to lose their places, and to restore the quadruple of what they have purloined. This regulation, which is rather strictly attended to, hath in some degree diminished the depredations.

A FORM of government was wanting for the several people we have been speaking of, and the court of Madrid adopted, that which was the most absolute. The Spanish monarchs took all the rights, and all the powers into their own hands, and intrusted the exercise of them to two delegates, who, under the title of viceroys, were to enjoy the prerogatives of sovereignty during all the time of their commission. They were attended in their public functions, and even in their private life, with a degree of pomp, which seemed calculated to increase the respect and terror which was inspired by authority. The number of these distinguished offices hath since been doubled, without the least derogation from their dignity. Their conduct, however, as well as that of the inferior agents, was subject to the censure of the Council for India; a tribunal erected in Europe, to govern, under the inspection of the monarch, the conquered provinces in the New World.

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IN these distant countries were established ten courts of justice, appointed to insure the tranquillity of the citizens, and to settle any differences that might arise among them. These tribunals, known by the name of Audiences, pronounced definitively upon criminal matters: but causes that were merely civil, and which were for more than 10,156 piastres, or 54,843 livres *, might be carried, by appeal, to the council for India. The privilege granted to these great bodies, to make remonstrances to the depositaries of the royal authority, and the still more considerable prerogative given to those of the capitals, to fill the duties of the vice royalty, whenever they were vacant, raised them to a degree of importance, which, as magistrates, they would not have acquired.

Nature of
the eccle-
siastical
govern-
ment a-
dopted in
America.

It seemed more difficult to regulate the ecclesiastical form of government. At the period of the discovery of the New World, all Europe was covered with a veil of darkness, woven, or thickened, by the prejudices which the court of Rome had incessantly diffused, sometimes openly, and sometimes with cunning. These superstitions were more deeply rooted, and more general in Spain, where the infidels had for so long a time past been the object of their hatred and of their wars. The sovereigns of this kingdom, one would naturally imagine, would have established beyond the seas, the bad principles of the pontiffs who gave them another hemisphere: but this was not the case. These princes, more enlightened, as it should seem, than might be expected from the age they lived in, deprived the ruler of Christendom of the privilege of collating to the benefices of the church, and even of the

tithes, which the priests had assumed to them-
 selves in all parts. Unfortunately, the prudence
 that had dictated this system was not followed by
 their successors; who founded, or permitted to
 be founded, too great a number of bishopricks.
 Numberless churches were constructed, and con-
 vents of both sexes multiplied beyond every idea
 of excess. Celibacy became the ruling passion
 in a desert country. Metals, which should have
 been employed in fertilizing the earth, were
 thrown away upon the churches. The clergy,
 notwithstanding their ignorance and corruption,
 obtained the restoration of the greatest part of
 those oppressive tithes which had been drawn
 out of their avaricious hands. America seemed
 now to have been conquered but for them. In
 the mean while, the inferior clergy, those who are
 in other parts so mild and so respectable, did not
 find themselves sufficiently opulent. The Indian,
 whom they were appointed to instruct and com-
 fort, did not dare to appear before them without
 some present. They indulged him in such of his
 former superstitions as were of advantage to
 themselves; as for instance, the custom of putting
 a great quantity of provisions upon the tombs of
 the dead. They set an exorbitant price upon
 their functions, and had always some pious inven-
 tions, which gave them an opportunity of exact-
 ing fresh taxes. Such a conduct had rendered
 their tenets generally odious. These people
 went to mass as they did to the labours of vas-
 salage, execrating the barbarous strangers, who
 loaded their bodies and their souls with burdens
 equally weighty.

The scandal became public, and almost gene-
 ral. The secular and the regular clergy, who
 both of them fulfilled the same ministry, mutually
 accused each other of these vexations. The first

B O O K described their rivals as a set of vagabonds, who
 VIII. had withdrawn themselves from the superintendence of their superiors, in order to follow their libertinism with impunity. The latter accused the other of their ignorance and indolence, and censured them for being wholly taken up with the education of their families. We acknowledge, with regret, that there was reason for these reproaches on both sides. The court was for a long time disturbed by the intrigues of these two cabals, which were incessantly renewed. At length they decreed, in 1757, that the monks should occupy the benefices they held during life, but that they should not be succeeded in them by men of the same profession. This determination, which brings matters again into their natural order, will probably be attended with favourable consequences.

Distribution of the lands in the New World at the time of the conquest. Mode of acquiring these possessions at present.

It was a great point, to have regulated, in the first instance, all the great springs of the new empire. It now remained to settle the destiny of those who were to live in it. The sovereign, who thought himself the legitimate possessor of all the lands of America, by right of conquest, and by the concession of the pontiffs, caused some of them, at first, to be distributed among his soldiers, who had fought in the New World.

THE foot soldier received a piece of ground, of the length of one hundred feet, and of the breadth of fifty, to build upon; one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five toises for garden-ground; seven thousand five hundred and forty-three for his orchard; ninety-four thousand two hundred and eighty-eight for the culture of European corn; and nine thousand four hundred and twenty-eight for that of Indian corn; and all the extent of ground that was necessary to breed ten hogs, twenty goats, one hundred sheep, twenty-horned

horned cattle, and five horses. The cavalry man BOOK
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was allowed double the quantity of ground for his buildings, and the quintuple of all the rest.

Soon after towns were constructed. These were not left to the caprice of persons who meant to inhabit them. The ordonnances required that they should be in an agreeable situation, in a wholesome air, on a fertile soil, abounding with waters. They regulated the position of the churches, the direction of the streets, and the extent of the public squares. It was usually some rich and active individual who undertook to build them, after they had obtained the sanction of government. If the whole was not finished at the stipulated time, he lost all the money he had advanced, and was likewise indebted to the treasury 5,400 livres*. The other obligations imposed upon him were, to find a clergyman for his church, and to supply him with all that was required to keep up the decency of a regular form of worship. He was also obliged to collect at least thirty Spanish inhabitants, each of whom was to have ten cows, four oxen, one mare, one sow, twenty sheep, one cock, and six hens. When these conditions were fulfilled, the civil and criminal jurisdictions were granted to him in the first instance for two generations, the right of appointing the municipal officers, and four leagues square of territory.

PART of this great space was taken up in the placing of the city, by the commons, and by the person who undertook the business. The rest was divided into equal portions, which were drawn for by lot, and none of which could be alienated till after five years cultivation. Every citizen was to have as many lots as he had houses, but his property was never to exceed what Ferdinand had

BOOK VIII. originally granted at Saint Domingo to three horsemen.

THOSE persons who had possessions in the towns that were already founded, were excluded by law from the new settlements: but this strict regulation did not extend to their children. All the Indians, who were not detained elsewhere by engagements which they could not break, were allowed to settle there as servants, as mechanics, or as labourers.

EXCLUSIVE of the lands which were secured to the troops, and to the founders of towns, the chiefs of the several colonies were authorized to distribute some to the Spaniards who were inclined to settle in the New Hemisphere. This great privilege was taken from them in 1591. Philip II. whose ambition engaged him in perpetual wars, and whose obstinacy would never allow him to put an end to them, was not able to answer so many expences. The sale of the lands in America, which to this period had been given away, was one of the resources that suggested itself to him. His law had, even in some sort, a retroactive effect, in as much as it ordered the confiscation of all that was possessed without a legitimate title, unless the usurper should consent to redeem these possessions. An arrangement so useful in reality, or in appearance, to the treasury, never received any modification at any period, nor hath it yet experienced any.

BUT it was a more easy matter to bestow lands gratuitously upon some adventurers, or to cede them to such persons at a low price, than to induce them to make them fertile. This kind of labour was despised by the first Spaniards, whom their avidity had led into the Indies. The slow, laborious, and expensive mode of cultivation, could scarce tempt men, who, in the hope of making

making an easy, brilliant, and rapid fortune, had braved the waves of an unknown ocean, and the dangers of all kinds that awaited them, upon unwholesome and barbarous coasts. They were in haste to enjoy, and the most expeditious way of doing this, was to seize upon the minerals. An enlightened government would have endeavoured to rectify the ideas of their subjects, and to give, as much as possible, another bent to their ambition. But the direct contrary of this took place, the error of individuals became the policy of the ministry, they were blind enough to prefer treasures that are merely so by convention, the quantity of which could not fail of being diminished, and which must daily lose something of their imaginary price, to riches that are incessantly springing up afresh, and the value of which must gradually increase in all times. This illusion of the conquerors and of the sovereigns, threw the state out of the road of prosperity, and formed the manners in America. Nothing was in estimation but gold or silver, accumulated by rapine, by oppression, and by the working of the mines.

In the earliest times of the conquest, it was decreed that the mines should belong to the person who discovered them, provided he had them registered in the tribunal nearest to the spot. The government had at first the imprudence to have the portion of this rich soil, which they had reserved for themselves, searched on their own account; but they soon renounced this ruinous error, and contracted the habit of ceding it to the proprietor of the rest of the mine for a very moderate sum. If these treasures were found in cultivated parts, which scarce ever happened, the person who undertook the mine was to purchase the extent of ground he wanted, or to give up the hundredth part of the ore. Upon barren mountains

Regulations made at different periods for the working of the mines

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mountains the proprietor was more than sufficiently indemnified for the little damage he received, by the value which a new exertion gave to the productions cultivated in the neighbourhood

FROM the most ancient times, the mines, of whatsoever nature they were, gave up to the treasury in Spain the fifth of their produce. This custom was carried into the New World, but in process of time the government was obliged to confine itself to a tenth for the gold, and even in 1735, for the silver in Peru. They were also obliged in general to lower the price of mercury. Till the year 1761, this necessary agent had been sold for 432 livres * the quintal. At this period it cost no more than 324 †, or even 216 livres ‡, for the mines that were not abundant, or which were very expensive in the working †

EVERY thing leads us to suppose, that the court of Spain will be obliged, sooner or later, to make other sacrifices. In proportion as the metals grow more common in commerce, they decrease in value, and they represent fewer commodities. This degradation must one day make the best mines be neglected, as it hath successively made the middling ones to have been abandoned, unless the burden of those who work them be alleviated. The time, perhaps, is not far distant, when the Spanish ministry must be contented with two reals, or one livre seven sols §, which they receive per mark for the stamp and for the coinage.

THE circumstance that might give great weight to these conjectures is, that there are scarce any men, except those whose affairs are in a doubtful or ruinous situation, who venture the taking of a

* 181.

† 91

‡ 131 10s

§ About 1s 1d h

part in the mines. If it should sometimes hap-
pen, that a rich merchant should be stimulated to
it by an unbounded avidity, he doth it always
under the veil of the most impenetrable secrecy.
The bold speculator may consent to expose his
fortune, but never his name. He is well aware,
that if his engagements were known, his repu-
tation, and his credit, would be inevitably lost.
It is not, till his rashness hath been crowned with
the most brilliant success, that he can venture to
avow the risks he hath run.

WHEN the government shall be obliged to give
up the duties they yet receive from the metals,
they will still have considerable revenues for the
expences of sovereignty. The principal of these
ought to have been the tithes, which Ferdinand
had compelled the court of Rome to give up to
him: but Charles V. from motives which it is
not easy to conjecture; deprived himself of them
in favour of the bishops; the chapters, the rec-
tors, the hospitals, the building of the churches;
in a word, in favour of men and of establish-
ments, which were either too rich already, or soon
became so. This prince scarce transmitted the
ninth part of them to his successors. It was
necessary that a tribute extorted from the In-
dians should fill up a void so inconsiderately
made in the public treasure. The superior classes
of society were not treated with less manage-
ment; all the New World was subject to the Al-
cavala.

THIS is a tax levied only upon what is sold by
wholesale, and which doth not extend to articles
of daily consumption. It comes originally from
the Moors. The Spaniards adopted it in 1341,
and settled it at the rate of five *per cent.* It was
afterwards carried up to ten, and even to four-
teen: but, in 1750, arrangements were made,
which

BOOK VIII which brought it back to what it had been in the first instance Philip II after the disaster of that fleet, so well known by the pompous title of Invincible, was urged, in 1591, by his wants, to require this assistance from his possessions in America It was at first only at two *per cent* and in 1627 it rose to four

STAMPT paper that mode so wisely invented to secure the fortune of individuals, and which is become, in all parts, one of the principles of their ruin in the hands of the treasury stamp paper, I say, was introduced, in 1641, into all the Spanish provinces of the New World

THE monopoly of tobacco began to distress Peru in 1752, Mexico, in 1754, and in the interval of these two periods, all the other parts of the hemisphere dependent on Castile

AT divers times, the crown hath appropriated to itself, in the New as well as in the Old World the monopoly of gunpowder, lead, and cards

THE most extraordinary of all imposts, however, is the crusade It took its rise in those ages of folly and fanaticism, when millions of Europeans went to lose their lives in the East for the recovery of Palestine The court of Rome revived it in favour of Ferdinand, who, in 1509, wished to attack the Moors of Africa This tax still subsists in Spain, where it is never lower than twelve sols six deniers*, and never higher than four livres† A greater sum is paid for it in the New World, where it is only collected every two years, and where it rises from thirty five sols to thirteen livres‡, according to the rank and fortunes of the citizens For this sum the people acquire the liberty, or obtaining absolution from their confessors, for such crimes as are reserved

* Rather more than 6d ¹ + 3s 4d

† From about 1s 7d to 11s 8d

for the absolution of the Pope and the bishops; BOOK
VIII. they acquire the right of eating, upon days of abstinence, some kinds of prohibited food, and a multitude of indulgences, for sins already committed, or for those that may be committed in future. The government do not strictly oblige their subjects to take this bull: but the priests would refuse the comforts of religion to those who should neglect or disdain it; and there is not, perhaps, in all Spanish America, one man sufficiently bold or sufficiently enlightened to brave this ecclesiastical censure.

I WILL not, therefore, address myself to a set of foolish mortals, whom we should in vain advise to shake off the double yoke under which they are oppressed; and I will not say to them, What! do ye not conceive that Providence, which watches over your preservation, in presenting you with food which is proper for you, and in perpetuating incessantly the appetency you have for it, meant undoubtedly to allow you the free use of it? If the Heavens were irritated when you eat of it in a forbidden season, there is no power on earth that could dispense with your obedience. Do ye not see that your stupid credulity is imposed upon, and that by an infamous kind of traffic, a being who is not greater than you are, a creature who is nothing before the face of your common master, arrogates to himself the right of commanding you in his name, or of freeing you from the observance of his orders for a piece of money? This piece of money, doth he take it for himself, or doth he give it to his God? Is his God indigent? Doth he depend upon resources, or doth he amass treasures? If in the other life he be a rewarder of virtue, and an avenger of crimes, neither the gold which you have given, nor the absolution which you shall have purchased

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chased with that gold, will have any effect upon the scale. If his venal justice should admit of corruption, he would be as vile and as contemptible as those who are seated in your tribunals. If his representative had the same power for himself, as he hath persuaded you that he hath for you, he might be the most wicked of mankind with impunity, since there is not any crime which he would not have it in his power to pardon. Neither will I address myself to the subaltern ministers of this proud chief, because they have a common interest with him, and that instead of answering me they would light up the stake under my feet. But I will address myself to the Chief himself, and to the whole body over which he presides, and I will tell them

It is time you should renounce this unworthy monopoly, which disgraces you, and which dishonours both the God whom you preach, and the religion which you profess. Simplify your doctrine, and purge it from absurdities. Abandon, with a good grace, all the posts from which you will be driven. The world is too enlightened to be any longer gulled with incomprehensibilities that are repugnant to reason, or to give credit to miraculous falsehoods, being common to all religions, cannot be admitted as proofs for any one. Return to a practicable and social system of morality. Let the reformation of your theology be followed by that of your manners. Since you enjoy the privileges of society, partake of the burdens of it. Do not any longer plead your immunities against the efforts of an equitable ministry, who would wish to bring you back to the general condition of other citizens. Your spirit of intoleration, and the odious means by which you have acquired, and still continue to heap up riches upon riches, have done more in
jury

jury to your opinions, than all the arguments of incredulity. Had you been the appeasers of public and domestic troubles, the advocates of the poor, the support of the persecuted, the mediators between the husband and the wife, between fathers and children; had you been, among citizens, the organs of the law, the friends of the throne, and co-operators with the magistrate; however absurd your tenets had been, mankind would have been silent. No one would have ventured to attack a class of men so useful and so respectable. But you have spread divisions over Europe for concerns of the most frivolous nature. All countries have been reeking with blood, and for reasons which at present we blush to think of. If you would restore to your ministry it's former dignity, be humble, be indulgent, be even poor if it should be necessary: for so your founder was. His apostles, his disciples, and their followers, who converted all the known world, were so likewise. Be neither mountebanks nor hypocrites, nor simoniacal, nor dealers in things which you give out as holy. Endeavour to become priests again; that is to say, delegates from the Most High, to preach virtue to men, and to shew them the example of it. And thou, Pontiff of Rome, call thyself no longer the servant of the servants of God, unless thou wilt be so. Consider, that the æra of thy bulls, of thine indulgences, of thy pardons, and of thy dispensations is past. It is in vain that thou would'st sell the Holy Ghost, if no one can be found to purchase it. Thy spiritual revenue is continually decreasing, and, sooner or later, it must be reduced to nothing. Whatever the subsidies may be, the nations that pay them are naturally inclined to get rid of them; and the slightest pretence is sufficient. Since from a fisherman,

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fisherman, thou hast made thyself a temporal prince, become, as all good sovereigns are, the promoter of agriculture, of the arts, of manufactures, of trade, and of population. Thou wilt then have no occasion for a traffic that is scandalous. Thou wilt restore to the labours of man, the precious days which thou hast deprived him of; and thou wilt recover our veneration, which thou hast lost.


THE finances of the Spanish continent of the other hemisphere were for a long time a mystery to the ministry themselves. This chaos was in some measure cleared up by M. de la Ensenada. Each of the twelve years of his fortunate administration, the crown received from these countries, or from the duties they collected at the departure and at the return of the fleets, 17,719,448 livres 12 sols (a). This resource of government hath since been much increased, both from the value of the new taxes, and from the strictness that hath been observed in the collecting of the old ones. At present the public revenue of Mexico amounts to 54,000,000 livres (b); that of Peru, to 27,000,000 livres (c); that of Guatemala, of the New Kingdom, of Chili, and of Paraguay to 9,100,000 livres (d). This amounts in all to 90,100,000 livres (e). The local expences absorb 56,700,000 livres (f); so that there remain for the treasury, 33,500,000 livres (g). Add to this sum, 20,584,450 livres (h); which they receive in Europe itself upon the articles sent to the colonies; or which are brought from thence, and it will be found that the court of Madrid draws annually, 55,084,450 livres (i), from its pro-

- (a) 738,310l. 7s. 2d. (b) 2,250,000l.
(c) 1,125,000l. (d) 379,166l. 13s. 4d.
(e) 3,754,166l. 13s. 4d. (f) 2,362,500l.
(g) 1,437,500l. (h) 857,585l. 8s. 4d.
(i) 2,295,185l. 8s. 4d.

vinces in the New World.. But all these riches BOOK
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do not enter into the royal coffers of the mother-country. Part of them is employed in the Spanish islands in America, for the expence of sovereignty, and for the building of ships, or for the purchasing of tobacco.

SPAIN had scarce discovered this other hemisphere, when she conceived the idea of a system unknown to the people of antiquity, but which hath since been adopted by modern nations, that of taking into her hands all the productions of her colonies, and the whole care of supplying them with provisions. In this view the government were not satisfied with forbidding these new establishments, under capital penalties, to hold any foreign intercourse; but they carried their strictness so far, as to render all communication between them impracticable, and to prohibit them from sending any of their ships to the country from which they originally came. This spirit of jealousy soon betrayed itself in the mother-country. The ships, indeed, were at first allowed to set out from different ports; but they were all obliged to return to Seville. The wealth, which this preference accumulated in this city, soon enabled it to obtain, that the ships should be dispatched from it's harbour, as well as they were compelled to return to it. The river, that washes it's walls, not being afterwards found considerable enough to receive the ships, which had gradually increased to a certain size, it was the peninsula of Cadiz, which became the general staple. All foreign merchants, settled in this port, which was become famous, were forbidden to take a direct part in a trade of so lucrative a nature. In vain d'd they represent, that as they consumed the provisions of the kingdom, as they paid the taxes, and as they encouraged

Destructive principles upon which Spain first founded it's connections with the New World.

B O O K **VIII.**  raged agriculture, industry, and navigation, they ought to be considered as citizens. These reasons were never attended to in a court, where custom was the supreme law. These active, opulent, and enlightened men, who for a long time past had alone kept up the connections between the Ancient and the New World, were always obliged, with more disgust and inconvenience than one would imagine, to cover their most trifling transactions under a Spanish name.

THE liberty of undertaking voyages to the great settlements that were forming on all sides in the other Hemisphere, was even much restrained with regard to the natives themselves. The government took the resolution of regulating, every year, the number of ships that it was thought proper to send, and to fix the time of their setting out. It entered into their system of politics, to render these voyages very unfrequent, and the permission to fit out a vessel became a very signal favour. In order to obtain it, the capital of the empire was filled with intrigues, and corruption was kept up in all the offices.

UNDER the pretence of preventing frauds, of establishing an invariable order, and of procuring entire safety to ships that were richly laden, delays, visitations, searchings, sailors, and formalities of every kind were multiplied to such a degree, both in Europe and America, that the useless expences doubled the value of some goods, and enhanced considerably that of others.

THE oppression of the customs completed the ruin of every thing. The articles exported to the other Hemisphere, were subjected to such duties, as had never existed in any age, or on any part of the globe. The price even that had been given for

for them was taxed. The gold, on it's return, paid four *per cent.* and the silver nine.

BUT how was it possible that the court of Madrid should be so grossly deceived with respect to their interests; or still more, how was it possible they should persist in their error? Let us endeavour, if we can, to find out the causes of so strange an infatuation.

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Reasons
why the
court of
Madrid
persevered
in their
erroneous
system.

THE empire of the Spaniards over the New World was established in an age of ignorance and barbarism. All the principles of government were then forgotten; and we need not certainly be surprised, that in the intoxication of their victories, a set of proud conquerors should not have restored knowledge, which had been banished from Europe for ten or twelve centuries past.

AT this period of general infatuation, the court of Madrid did not conjecture that the settlements they were forming in another hemisphere would only be useful, in as much as they should produce an encouragement of their agriculture, industry, and navigation. Far from making the colonies subordinate to the mother-country, it was, in some measure, the mother-country that was subordinate to the colonies. Every political œconomy was either neglected or disdained; and the grandeur of the monarchy was viewed only in the gold and silver of America. The people were seized with the same ambition; and abandoned their native country in multitudes to go in search of these metals. These immense and continual emigrations, left a void in the population of the principal country, which was not filled up by the resort of foreigners, because they were incessantly driven from it by pride and the spirit of intoleration.

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SPAIN was confirmed, by successes which were maintained rather for a long time, in the false road she had at first marked out for herself. An ascendancy which she owed to circumstances alone, appeared to her to be a necessary consequence of her administration and her maxims.

THE calamities which afterwards invaded this kingdom on all sides, might possibly have enlightened it. An almost continued series of wars, some more fatal than others, deprived it of the tranquillity necessary to examine into the defects of a system, which had been uninterruptedly pursued with the greatest security.

THE knowledge successively acquired, or diffused by other nations, was very well calculated to refute and dissipate the errors of Spain. Whether from pride or jealousy, this nation obstinately rejected the lights it might have obtained from its rivals, or its neighbours.

IN default of foreign aids, the Spaniards, born with a spirit of reflection, and with penetrating sagacity, might have discovered many circumstances of consequence to their prosperity. This kind of genius, which was fit for every thing, unfortunately turned itself towards contemplations which could not but increase their mistakes.

To fill up the measure of these misfortunes, the court of Madrid had, from early times, imposed a law upon themselves, to support the measures they had followed, in order that they might not be suspected of having lightly taken a resolution. Events, however disgraceful they were, did not disgust them of these politics in *their connections with America*, and they were confirmed in them, by the combined, or separate suffrages, of a multitude of corrupt or dishonest agents,

agents, who insured their own private fortune by the keeping up of universal confusion.

THE mischief, however, was not felt from the first, although some celebrated writers have asserted this with confidence. According to their opinion, Spain, seeing herself the mistress of America, voluntarily renounced her manufactures and her agriculture. Such an extravagant idea never entered into the system of any nation. At the period when the other Hemisphere was discovered, Seville was celebrated for its silk manufactures; the woollens of Segovia were esteemed the finest in Europe, and the stuffs of Catalonia found an advantageous mart in Italy and in the Levant. Other openings for trade gave fresh activity to this industry, and to the cultivation of the lands, which is inseparable from it. Had it been otherwise, how is it possible that this monarchy could have invaded so many provinces; sustained so many tedious and bloody wars; paid so many foreign and national troops; equipped such numerous and formidable fleets; kept up division in the neighbouring states, and purchased traitors among them; subverted all nations by their intrigues; and given the impulse to all political events? How could they have been the first, and, perhaps, the only power of the universe?

BUT all these exertions occasioned an immense consumption of men: several went over into the New World: this other Hemisphere, more wealthy and more populous, required more merchandise; and hands were wanting for all the labours. Then Spain was furnished with subsistence, and her colonies were supplied with clothing, by foreign nations, where specie was still scarce, and, consequently, labour at a moderate price. In vain were they excluded from

BOOK VIII. this traffic by strict regulations. Whether they were friends or foes, they carried it on without interruption, and with success, under the name of the Spaniards, whose honesty always deserved the highest encomiums. The government thought to remedy what they imagined to be an evil, but which was nothing more than the necessary consequence of the state of things, by renewing the ancient prohibition of exporting either gold or silver. At Seville, and afterwards at Cadiz, some bravoës, called *Metedores*, carried the ingots upon the ramparts, and threw them over to other *Metedores*; who were to deliver them to the boats that came up to receive them. This clandestine trade was never disturbed by excisemen, or by guards, who were all paid to shut their eyes. More strictness would only have served to increase the price of the merchandise, from the greater difficulty of obtaining the value of it. If, in conformity to the rigour of the ordinances, any delinquent had been seized, tried, and condemned to death, and his property confiscated, such an atrocious act, far from preventing the exportation of the metals, would have increased it; because the persons who had before been satisfied with a moderate gratuity, requiring a salary proportioned to the danger they must incur, would have increased their profits by their risks, and would have made a great deal of money go out, in order that they might have the more for themselves.

SUCH was the state of Spain, when she herself voluntarily aggravated her calamities by the expulsion of the Moors.

THIS nation had reigned for a long time, almost over the whole of the peninsula. From one post to another, they were successively driven to Granada; where after a ten years continuance

nuance of a bloody war, they were again forced, BOOK
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in 1492, to submit to the yoke By the terms of capitulation, they were to be allowed to follow their own form of worship, but the conqueror, under various pretences, soon wished to deprive them of this sacred right, and they took up arms in order to maintain it Fortune declared itself against these unfortunate Mussulmen, and numbers of them perished by the sword Others purchased the right of taking refuge in Africa, and the rest were condemned to appear Christians

THIS apparent compliance, with which Ferdinand and Charles chose to be satisfied, did not meet with the approbation of Philip II This persecuting prince required that the Infidels should be really of his religion In the hope of engaging them to this more certainly, and in less time, he ordered, in 1568, that these people should renounce their idiom, their names, their habits, their baths, their customs, and every thing that could distinguish them from his other subjects Despotism was carried so far, as to forbid them from changing their residence, without the consent of the magistrate, from marrying, without the leave of the bishop, from bearing arms, under any pretence whatever, and even from having any in their possession An obstinate resistance must have been the consequence of so blind an act of tyranny Unfortunately, men who had no leader, no discipline, and no means of carrying on the war, could make none but unavailing efforts against numerous armies, accustomed to carnage, and commanded by experienced generals The inhabitants of the towns and country places, who had entered into the rebellion, were almost generally exterminated Servitude became the lot of all the prisoners of both sexes Those even of the Moors
S 2 who

BOOK VIII. who had remained quietly at home, were conveyed into the interior provinces of the kingdom, where they met with nothing but insults and reproach.

THIS dispersion, and this humiliation, did not produce the effect that was expected. The cruelties, which were incessantly renewed by a sanguinary tribunal, were not more availing. It appeared to the clergy, that the only way remaining, was to expel from the monarchy all these enemies who so obstinately persisted in their doctrines. This was accomplished in 1610, notwithstanding the opposition of some statesmen, and notwithstanding the still warmer solicitations of the grandees, who kept in their palaces, or on their domain, many slaves of the nation that was persecuted by superstition.

WE find from all accounts, that this proscription deprived Spain of a million of inhabitants. Some authentic pieces, collected by Bleda, a prudent and contemporary writer, shew that this number must be reduced to four hundred and twenty-nine thousand three hundred and fourteen. This was not the whole of the Moors that had escaped the fury of the wars; and the fanaticism of the conquerors, or that remained from the emigrations, sometimes tolerated and sometimes clandestine. The government retained the women that were married to former Christians, whose faith was not suspicious to the bishops, and all the children under seven years of age.

IN the mean while the state lost the twentieth part of their population, and the most laborious part, as the proscribed and persecuted sects will always be. Whatever were the occupations of these people, whether their strength was employed in the fields, in the manufactures, or in the meanest offices of society, it is certain

that a great deficiency was made in the labour, BOOK
VIII as well as in the tributes collected. The burden which had been borne by the Infidels fell chiefly upon the weavers. This additional weight drove many of them into Flanders and into Italy, while the rest, without quitting the country, renounced their profession. The silks of Valencia, and the fine wool of Andalusia and Castile, were no longer manufactured by the Spaniards.

THE treasury having no more manufacturers to oppress, now oppressed the farmers. The taxes levied upon agriculture, were as ill judged as they were various and excessive. Beside general duties, there were what the financiers call extraordinary duties, which is a mode of levying money upon a particular class of citizens, a kind of tax unprofitable to the state, and ruinous to those who are taxed, and which tends only to enrich the person who hath contrived it. These resources proved inadequate to the urgent necessities of government, and the financiers were called upon to advance considerable sums. At this period, they became masters of the state, and were empowered to farm out the several parts of their lease. This introduced a multitude of agents, and with them numberless restraints and oppressions. The laws which these rapacious men were allowed to enact, were only, so many snares to seduce the honest and credulous. In process of time, they usurped the sovereign authority, and found means to elude the royal tribunals, to chuse judges for themselves, and to pay them.

THE owners of the lands that were oppressed by this tyranny, either threw up their estates, or neglected the improvement of them. That fertile peninsula, which, though subject to frequent droughts, still afforded subsistence to thirteen or fourteen millions of inhabitants before the discovery

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covery of America, and had formerly been the granary of Rome and of all Italy, was soon overspread with thorns and briars. The pernicious custom of fixing the price of corn was then adopted; and public granaries were established in every province, which were consequently managed without either skill, care, or honesty. Besides, what advantage could be expected to arise from such precarious resources? How could it possibly enter into any one's thoughts, to lay restraints upon the price of corn, in order to increase the quantity of it, to raise the price of provisions, in order to make them cheaper, or to facilitate monopoly, in order to prevent it?

When once a nation hath begun to decline, it seldom recovers itself. The loss of population, of the manufactures, of trade, and of agriculture, was attended with the greatest evils. While Europe was daily improving in knowledge, and all nations were animated with a spirit of industry, Spain was falling into a state of inaction and barbarism. The duties of the former customs, which were still suffered to remain upon goods passing from one province to another, were carried to such an excess, as to prevent all communication between them. Even the conveyance of money from one province to another, was prohibited. In a short time, not the least sign of a road was to be seen. Travellers were stopped at the crossing of rivers, where there was neither bridge nor boats. There was not a single canal, or one navigable river. People, the most superstitious in the world, with regard to the observance of fast days, suffered their fisheries to decline, and bought fish every year to the amount of twelve millions.* Except a few ill built vessels destined for their

* 500,000 l

colonies, they had not a single ship belonging to B O O K
government in their harbours. Their coasts lay VIII.
exposed to the depredations of the Barbary corsairs. To avoid these, they were obliged to freight upon foreign bottoms, even the *aviso*s they sent to the Canary islands and to America. Philip IV. possessed of all the rich mines of America, at once found all his gold changed into copper, and was reduced to the necessity of making his copper coin bear almost the same value as that of silver.

THESE were not the greatest grievances of the monarchy. Spain, from an absurd and superstitious veneration for the age of her conquests, scornfully rejected whatever was not practised in those glorious days. The Spaniards saw all other nations growing more enlightened, more exalted, and more powerful, but thought it beneath them to copy after any one of them. An absolute contempt for the improvements and customs of their neighbours, formed the distinguishing character of this people.

THE inquisition, that tremendous tribunal, which was at first established in order to stop the progress of Judaism and of the Koran, had entirely altered the character of the Spaniards. It had accustomed them to reserve, to mistrust, and to jealousy. And, indeed, how should it have been otherwise? When a son could accuse his father, a mother her child and her husband, a man his friend, or his fellow citizen, when mutual accusations were the bent of all the passions, when a man might be seized upon in the midst of his children, and thrown into a dark dungeon, by the satellites, either in the day, or in the night-time, when the crime laid to a man's charge was concealed from him, when a man was compelled to defend himself, and being in prison

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prison for a fault which he had not committed, was afterwards detained and tried for a secret fault which he had avowed; when the trial was carried on, and finished, without confronting the witnesses; when sentence was pronounced without allowing the accused person to say any thing in his defence; then men accustomed themselves to blood, and to the most atrocious scenes: then their minds were filled with that spirit of fanaticism, which displayed itself so cruelly in both Hemispheres. Religious disputes occasioned, indeed, no disturbances or ravages in Spain; but the nation remained in a state of the most profound ignorance. Such disputes, though always absurd in themselves, serve however to exercise the mind. They induce men to read and reflect, to consult antiquity, study history, and the ancient languages; hence arises criticism, which is productive of true taste. The subject that first excited the exertion of the mind, soon becomes of no consequence; books written on controversial points are neglected, but the knowledge they have diffused remains. Religious matters are like those active and volatile particles that exist in all bodies fit for fermentation. They first occasion a cloud in the liquor that was before clear, but soon put the whole mass in motion. In this ferment, they fly off or sink to the bottom; and when the whole is depurated, nothing remains but a soft, pleasant, and nutritive fluid. But in the general ferment of theological disputes, all the refuse still continued in Spain. Superstition had so blinded the nation, that they even gloried in their infatuation.

INSTEAD of that energy which could alone animate the several parts of those wide dominions that lay too much scattered, the Spaniards were so slow in their motions, that all business was impeded.

peded. Such a variety of forms, precautions, and deliberations were multiplied to prevent imposition, that they only put a stop to every commercial transaction.

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THE wars in which the Spaniards were engaged, were as ill-conducted as their system of politics. A population, which was hardly sufficient for the many garrisons they kept in Italy, in the Low Countries, in Africa, and in the Indies, rendered them incapable of raising an army at home. At the first breaking out of a war, they were obliged to have recourse to foreign troops. The few Spaniards who were sent to fight along with these mercenaries, were so far from being able to manage them, that their own allegiance was frequently shaken by this intercourse. They have often revolted together with the foreign troops, and ravaged the provinces that were committed to their protection.

A REGULAR pay would infallibly have prevented, or soon put a stop to this spirit of sedition. But to provide for the payment of troops, and to keep them in that state of dependence and subordination so necessary to good discipline, government should have suppressed that multitude of useless officers, who by their salaries and their oppressions absorbed the greatest part of the public revenue; the most ancient rights of the crown should not have been alienated for a trifling consideration, or suffered to be invaded; nor should the royal treasures have been squandered away, to entertain spies, and to procure traitors in every country. But care should have been particularly taken, that the grandeur of the prince should not have been made to consist in granting pensions and favours to all who had no other claim, but that which they derived from their boldness in asking for them.

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THIS noble and iniquitous way of receiving alms was become general. The Spaniard, naturally generous, having acquired a spirit of pride, disdained the common occupations of life, and aspired after nothing but governments, bishoprics, and the chief employments in the state.

THOSE who could not attain to these preferences, glorying in their proud insolence, still assumed the style of the court, and maintained as much gravity in their idleness, as a minister who was absorbed in state affairs.

EVEN the lower class of the people would have thought they defiled their victorious hands by prostituting them to useful labours. They employed themselves carelessly, even in those which were the most creditable, and trusted all the rest to foreigners, who carried fortunes away with them, which served to fertilize, or to enrich their own country.

MEN born to no property, meanly preferring idle slavery to laborious liberty, eagerly solicited to be admitted into the number of domestics that the great kept in their retinue, with that pomp which magnificently displays the pride of the most useless, and the degradation of the most necessary class of men.

THOSE who had too much vanity remaining to live without some distinction, crowded into the convents, where superstitious men had long since provided a convenient retreat for their indolence, and had carried their absurdity so far, as to lavish marks of distinction upon them.

EVEN the Spaniards who had competent fortunes, languished in a state of celibacy, choosing rather to give up all thoughts of posterity, than to attend to the establishment of it. If some, induced by love and virtuous motives, chose, in imitation of the great, to enter into marriage,

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they sent their sons, in their earlier years, to be educated in the superstitious manner of the colleges: and from the age of fifteen resigned them to the courtezans. The abilities and strength of these young men being thus vitiated, they were equally enervated by these infamous connections, which they did not even break off when they entered into the sacred ties of matrimony.

OUT of this degenerate race were chosen the men who were to hold the reins of government. Their administration was answerable to their education, being a constant scene of idleness and corruption. They seldom discovered any sense of virtue or principles of equity, or the least desire of promoting the happiness of their fellow-creatures. They thought only of plundering the provinces intrusted to their care, in order to dissipate in idleness and profusion at Madrid the fruits of their extortion. This conduct was always pursued with impunity, though it often occasioned seditions, insurrections, conspiracies, and sometimes revolutions.

BESIDE these misfortunes, the states that were united to Castile by marriage or conquest, contributed to complete the ruin of the Spanish monarchy. The Low Countries did not afford a sufficiency to pay the garrisons that were kept to defend them. Franche Comté supplied nothing; Sardinia, Sicily and the Milanese were even burdensome to government. The tributes of Naples and Portugal were mortgaged to foreigners. Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Roussillon, the Balearic islands and Navarre, pretended they owed nothing to the monarchy but a free gift, which was always settled by their deputies, but seldom to the satisfaction of a rapacious court, exhausted by absurd liberalities.

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While the mother-country was declining, the colonies could not possibly flourish. If the Spaniards had understood their true interest, they would, perhaps, on the first discovery of America, have been content with establishing an equitable intercourse with the Indians, which would have settled a mutual dependence, and reciprocal profits between the two nations. The manufactures of the Old World would have been bartered for the produce of the mines of the new, and wrought iron would have been exchanged for it's weight of unwrought silver. A lasting union, the necessary consequence of a peaceable traffic, would have been established without bloodshed or devastation. Spain would equally have been mistress of Mexico and Peru, because any nation that cultivates the arts, and does not communicate the method by which it carries them on, will always have an evident superiority over those to whom it sells it's manufactures.

This method of reasoning was not adopted by the Spaniards. The ease with which they had subdued the Indians, the ascendant which Spain had assumed over all Europe, the natural pride of conquerors, their ignorance of the true principles of commerce, all these, and various other causes, prevented them from establishing, in the New World, a system of government founded upon good principles.

The depopulation of America was the melancholy effect of this irregularity. The first steps of the conquerors were marked with streams of blood. Astonished as much at their own victories, as the savages were at their defeat, and intoxicated with their success, they resolved to extirpate the people they had plundered. Innumerable nations disappeared from the face of the earth, at the arrival of these barbarians, and these

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occasionally established in order to alleviate the hardships of their servitude, afforded them but small relief. The savage, proud, and rapacious Spaniards, paid as little regard to the commands of a monarch who was too far remote, from them, as to the tears of the poor miserable Indians.

THE mines proved still a greater cause of destruction. Ever since the discovery of America, the Spaniards had attended only to this species of wealth. In vain did some men of more enlightened understanding exclaim against this insatiation. Let the gold remain where it is, said they, provided the surface of the earth that covers it can but produce an ear of corn that will make bread, or a blade of grass to feed your sheep. The only metal you really want is iron. Work it into saws, hammers, and plough shares, but not into weapons of destruction. The quantity of gold requisite for the purposes of exchange is so inconsiderable, that it is unnecessary to accumulate any great stock of it. It is very immaterial, whether a hundred ells of cloth or one pound or twenty pounds of gold, be given in exchange. The Spaniards have acted like the dog in the fable, that dropped the meat out of his mouth to bite at the image of it in the water, and was drowned in attempting to get it.

UNFORTUNATELY the Indians were the victims of this fatal error. Those unhappy men were sent to work at a very great depth under ground, where they were deprived of day-light, of a free and wholesome air, and of the comfort of mingling their tears with those of their friends and relations; and were doomed to dig their own graves in those dark mansions, which now contain more ashes of the dead than gold dust. All the nations of the universe being incensed at these
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barbarities, the Spanish writers endeavoured to prove, that the working of the mines was not attended with any danger: but the evidence of the senses testified the contrary. It was well known that man could not dwell in the obscure caverns of the earth, without suffering some inconvenience with respect to his eye-sight; that he could not breathe mercurial, sulphureous, arsenical, and pestilential vapours, without injury to his lungs; that unwholesome air could not be absorbed by the pores of the skin, or swallowed by the mouth, without prejudice to the stomach, and to the humours of the body. But men coming out of the mines, presented the image of death under all it's forms; a tormenting cough, a hideous atrophy, a melancholy marasmus, with convulsions, contractions, and distortions of the limbs. The miners were observed to have wrinkles, debility, tremblings, and a declining life, at the age of the most vigorous health; and consequently, far from giving any credit to the accounts of the Spaniards, their deceit excited indignation, when their ignorance was not an object of ridicule.

NUMBERS of the Americans, in order to escape these means of destruction, and to withdraw themselves from other acts of European tyranny, took refuge in the forests, and among inaccessible mountains. In these rough and wild climates, they contracted a ferocious disposition, which frequently distressed their merciless oppressors, and was the cause of much bloodshed.

In some districts, despair was carried so far, that the men, in order not to leave behind them any heirs of their misfortunes, resolved unanimously to have no connection with the women. This abstinence from the most natural desire im-

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planted in human nature, which is the only instance of the kind ever recorded in history, seems to have been reserved to the æra of the discovery of the New World, as a perpetual monument of Spanish tyranny. What more could the Americans oppose to this thirst of destruction, than the horrid vow of ceasing to perpetuate their posterity? Thus the earth was stained with the blood of the fathers, and deprived of the succeeding generation.

FROM this period the country seemed to lie under a curse with respect to these barbarous conquerors. The empire they had founded began to tend to general destruction. Profligacy and corruption made a rapid progress among them. The most important fortresses were suffered to decay. The country was left without arms or magazines. The soldiers who were neither exercised, fed, nor clothed, became beggars or thieves. The first principles of war and navigation were forgotten; as well as the very names of the instruments made use of in those two necessary arts.

TRADE consisted only in the art of cheating. The gold and silver, which were to be brought into the king's coffers, were fraudulently diminished, and reduced to a fourth part of the sum they ought to have produced. All orders of men, corrupted by avarice, united their efforts to prevent a true state of things from being laid before the throne, or to screen those persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the law. The magistrates of every rank and degree always unanimously exerted themselves to support each other in their injustice.

THE scene of confusion occasioned by these extortions, introduced the fatal expedient of all ill-governed states, that of numberless taxes: it seemed as if government had two objects in view,

to put a stop to every kind of industry, and to increase oppression.

IGNORANCE kept pace with injustice. Europe was not then much enlightened. Even the knowledge that began to diffuse itself in this quarter of the globe, was rejected by Spain. In the mean while, a thicker cloud was spread over America. The most simple notions, upon objects of the greatest importance, were entirely obliterated there

As ignorance is always favourable to superstition; the ministers of religion, rather more enlightened than the colonists, assumed a superiority over them in the management of all public affairs. Being more secure of impunity, they were always the most forward to break through the laws of justice, and through all rules of morality and decency. The least corrupt among them became traders, and the rest availed themselves of their ecclesiastical power to extort from the Indians all they were possessed of.

THE hatred which arose between the Spaniards born in America, and those who came from Europe, completed their ruin. The court had imprudently laid the foundation of these unhappy divisions. The Creoles had been falsely represented as little better than barbarians, and nearly of the same character as Indians. They thought they could not depend upon their skill, courage, or fidelity, and therefore determined to exclude them from all places of trust and profit. This injurious resolution irritated the Creoles. The Spaniards, who were invested with authority over them, were so far from endeavouring to reconcile them, that they studied, on the contrary, to exasperate them by humiliating partialities. This produced an inveterate hatred between these two orders of men, one of which was loaded with

B O O K favours, and the other stigmatized with disgrace
VIII This animosity hath often broken out in such a
 manner as to endanger the dominion of the mother country in the New World. This discord was fomented by the clergy on both sides, who had also been infected with the contagion of these disorders.

Spain begins to recover from its lethargy. IT is a pleasing task to us to be able to think, and to write, that the condition of Spain is every day improving. No longer do the nobility affect those airs of independence which sometimes embarrass the government. Men of no rank, but of ability, have risen to the direction of public affairs, which, for too long a time, was confined to persons of high birth. The countries which are more populous and better cultivated, yield fewer briars and more harvests. From the manufactures of Grenada, of Malaga, of Seville, of Priego, of Toledo, of Talavera, and especially of Valencia, silks are produced which are in some repute, and which deserve it. The manufacturers of Saint Ildefonso furnish very beautiful mirrors, those of Guadalixara and of Escaray supply clothes and scarlets, and those of Madrid, hats, ribbands, tapestry, and porcelain. All Catalonia is filled with manufactures of arms and toys, of silk stockings and handkerchiefs, of printed cottons, of common woollen goods, and of gold and silver and other lace. Communications are beginning to be opened between the capital and the provinces, and these magnificent roads are planted with useful or agreeable trees. Canals for watering or navigation are digged, the plan of which, suggested by foreigners, had so long disgusted the pride of the ministry and that of the people. Excellent manufactures of paper, printing executed with much taste; and societies consecrated to arts of elegance and utility, and to the sciences,

sciences, will sooner or later dispel prejudice and ignorance, these wise establishments will be second-
ed by the young men whom the ministry send for instruction into those countries, the glory and prosperity of which hath been extended by their knowledge. The erroneous system of tributes, so difficult to correct, hath already undergone very material reformatations. The national revenue, formerly so limited, hath arisen, as it is said, to 140,400,000 livres*. If the terrier, which the court of Madrid is occupied in making since the year 1749, be settled on good principles, and if it be carried into execution, the treasury will again find it's resources increase, and the persons who contribute will be relieved.

At the death of the emperor Charles V. the public treasury was so much burdened, that it was deliberated whether it would not be proper to annul so many fatal engagements. These amounted to a thousand million of livres†, or perhaps more, under the uneasy and turbulent reign of his son Philip. The interest of the sums advanced to government, absorbed, in 1688, all the produce of the taxes; and it then became necessary to have recourse to an entire bankruptcy. The events subsequent to this great crisis were all of them so unfortunate, that the finances fell suddenly into the same state of confusion from which a desperate but necessary resolution had extricated them. In the beginning of the century, a more enlightened administration established a system of order in the recoveries, and a regularity in the expences, which would have liberated the state, had it not been for the revolutions which succeeded each other, with a degree of rapidity which it is difficult to trace. Nevertheless,

* 5,850,000l

† 41,666,666l. 13s. 4d.

B O O K In 1759, the debts of the crown amounted to no more than 160,000,000 of livres *, which Ferdinand left in his coffers. His successor employed half of this sum in liquidating some debts; the rest of it was consumed in the war of Portugal, in the augmentation of the navy, and in a multitude of expences that were necessary to rouse the monarchy from that languid state in which it had been plunged during two centuries of ignorance and inactivity.

THE vigilance of the new government hath not confined itself to the suppression of part of the evils which contributed to the ruin of their possessions in Europe. Attention hath also been paid to some of the abuses which impeded the prosperity of their colonies. Their governors have been chosen with more care, and better superintended. Some of the vices that had insinuated themselves into the tribunals have been reformed; all the branches of administration have been improved; and even the state of the Indians is become less unhappy.

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THESE first steps towards a reformation must be an inducement to the Spanish ministry to hope, that a good form of government may be established, when the true principles on which it is founded shall be once known, and the proper means made use of to effect it. The character of the nation is not an invincible obstacle to this change, as it is too generally thought to be. Indolence is not so natural to the Spaniards as we imagine. If we look back to those times in which this unfavourable prejudice was first entertained, we shall find that this want of activity did not extend to every thing; and that if Spain was inactive at home, she was not so

abroad, but was incessantly disturbing the repose of her neighbours. Her idleness proceeds in some degree from foolish pride. Because the nobility were unemployed, the people imagined it was a mark of nobility to do nothing. They all wanted to enjoy the same prerogative; and the starved, half-naked Spaniard, carelessly sitting on the ground, looks with pity on his neighbours, who are well-clothed, live well, work, and laugh at his folly. The one, from a motive of pride, despises the conveniences of life; while the other, from a principle of vanity, endeavours to acquire them. The climate had made the Spaniard abstemious, and indigence hath rendered him more so. The monkish spirit, to which he hath long been subject, makes him consider poverty, which is occasioned by his vices, as a virtue. As he hath no property, he covets none; but his aversion for labour is greater still than his contempt for riches.

THAT poor and proud people have nothing left of their ancient character, but an immoderate fondness for every thing that hath the appearance of grandeur. They must be flattered with chimerical ideas, and animated with the strongest hopes of glory. The satisfaction they feel in depending on none but the crown since the abasement of the grandees, makes them receive all that comes from the court with respect and confidence. This powerful influence might be made subservient to their happiness. Some means might be contrived to persuade them that labour is honourable, and the nation will soon become what it was before the discovery of America, in those glorious times, when, without any foreign aid, Spain threatened the liberties of all Europe.

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WHEN the imagination of this people is once properly directed, and they are brought to be ashamed of their haughty spirit of indolence, other evils must be attended to. The most destructive to the bulk of the nation is the want of population. Well governed colonies will naturally increase the population of the mother-country, which on her part promotes the increase of theirs, by supplying them with advantageous markets for the produce of their industry. It is on this plan, alike interesting to humanity and sound policy, that the more enlightened nations of the Old Hemisphere have formed their settlements in the New one. This wise and noble design hath been universally crowned with success. Spain alone, which had formed her system in a darker age, hath seen her population decrease at home, in proportion as her possessions increased abroad.

WHEN the disproportion between the extent of a territory and it's inhabitants is not extreme, the balance may be gradually restored by activity, œconomy, great encouragements given to matrimony, and a long peace. Spain, which, according to the exact account taken in 1768, hath no more than nine millions three hundred and seven thousand, eight hundred and four inhabitants of every age and sex, and which doth not reckon, in her colonies, the tenth part of the individuals that would be necessary to cultivate them, cannot remedy this evil either at home or abroad, without new and extraordinary efforts. To increase the laborious classes of men, there must be a reduction of the clergy, who enervate and decay the state. Two thirds of her military force must be abolished, and these soldiers must be employed in the arts, since the connection with France, and the weakness of Portugal, no longer render them necessary. The government must apply

apply itself to alleviate the burdens of the people as soon as it's possessions in both hemispheres are extricated from that confusion and disorder into which they had been thrown, for these two centuries past, through the effects of indolence, ignorance, and tyranny. But it is first absolutely necessary that the infamous tribunal of the inquisition should be abolished.

SUPERSTITION, whatever may be the reason of it, prevails among all nations, whether rude or civilized. It proceeds undoubtedly from the fear of evil, and from the ignorance of it's causes, or of it's remedy. At least this alone is sufficient to imprint it in the minds of all men. The calamities of nature, plagues, sickness, unforeseen accidents, destructive phenomena, all the latent causes of pain and death, are so universal on earth, that it would be very surprising if man had not been deeply affected with them in every country, and in every age.

BUT this natural fear must always have increased, or have been magnified in proportion to ignorance and sensibility. It must have given rise to the worship of the elements that are most destructive to the earth, such as manifest themselves in inundations, conflagrations, and plagues, and to the worship of animals, whether venomous or voracious, but always noxious. Hence too must have arisen the worship of men who have done the greatest injuries to mankind, of conquerors, of fortunate impostors, of the workers of prodigies, apparently good or bad, and the worship of invisible and imaginary beings, supposed to lie concealed in every instrument of destruction. Reflection and the study of nature, must have insensibly lessened the number of these invisible agents, and the human mind must have risen from idolatry to theism, but this last simple and sublime

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idea will always have remained imperfect and confused in the minds of the vulgar, and mixed with a multitude of errors and fancies

REVELATION had confirmed and perfected the idea of the doctrine of the unity of God, and, perhaps, a more pure religion would then have been established, had not the northern barbarians, who poured in upon the several provinces of the Roman empire, brought along with them their own sacred prejudices, which could not be dispelled but by other fables. Unfortunately, Christianity was preached to men incapable of understanding it thoroughly. They would not embrace it, unless it were attended with that external pomp and shew in which ignorance delights. Interest and motives burdened it, and debased it more and more with other observances, and constantly invented new doctrines and miracles, which were the more revered as they were the less credible. The nations, engaged during twelve centuries in dividing and contesting about the several provinces of an universal monarchy which one nation had formed in less than two hundred years, admitted, without examination, all the errors which the priests, after much controversy, had agreed to teach the multitude. But the clergy, too numerous to maintain any unanimity of opinion, had sown the seeds of division, which must sooner or later be communicated to the people. The time came, when the same spirit of ambition and avarice that actuated the whole church, exerted itself with great animosity against many superstitions that were universally adopted.

As it was from custom that the people had received all those puerile notions which they had suffered themselves to be deluded into, and that they were not attached to them from national principles or party spirit, those who were most interested

interested in supporting them, were unable to defend them, when they were attacked with that steadiness that was calculated to fix the attention of the public. But nothing so much promoted the reformation of Luther and Calvin, as the liberty they granted to every one to examine and determine finally upon the religious principles he had been taught. Though the multitude were incapable of undertaking this discussion, yet every man plumed himself upon having the privilege to determine on a subject in which his most valuable and most important interests were concerned. The commotion was so universal, that the new opinions would in all probability have triumphed totally over the old, had not the magistracy thought it their interest to stem the torrent. Implicit obedience was as necessary for the support of the supreme power, as for that of religion, and was the surest foundation of it's authority; that power began therefore to be alarmed, lest those who had overturned the old and firm foundations of the Roman hierarchy, might next proceed to examine into it's own prerogatives. The republican spirit which naturally spread itself among the reformed, contributed to increase this distrust.

THE kings of Spain, more jealous of their power than other sovereigns, endeavoured to support it, by establishing a more uniform system of superstition. They were not sensible that the opinions of men, concerning an unknown Being, cannot be all the same. In vain did reason expostulate with those weak monarchs, alleging that no power had a right to prescribe to men what they were to think; that society, in order to support itself, is under no necessity of restraining the freedom of the soul; that to compel men to subscribe to certain articles of faith, is to

exact

BOOK exact a false oath, which makes a man a traitor to his conscience, in order that he may be a faithful subject; and that a citizen who serves his country, is, in a political light, preferable to him who is orthodox to no purpose. These permanent and incontestible principles were not attended to. They were overruled by the prospect of great advantage, and still more by the furious clamours of a multitude of sanatical priests, who hastened to assume the supreme authority. The prince, thus reduced to become their slave, was forced to abandon his subjects to their caprices; to suffer them to be oppressed, and to become an idle spectator of the cruelties exercised against them. From that time, superstitious manners, beneficial only to the priesthood, became prejudicial to society. A people thus corrupt and degenerate, were the most cruel of any. Their obedience to the monarch was subordinate to the will of the priest, who oppressed every other power, and was in fact the sovereign of the state.

INACTION was the necessary consequence of a superstition that enervated all the faculties of the soul. The project which the Romans formed from their earliest origin, of becoming masters of the world, shewed itself even in their religion. It was Victory, Bellona, Fortune, the genius of the Roman people, Rome herself, that were their gods. A nation that endeavoured to imitate their example, and thought of becoming conquerors, adopted a monkish government, which hath destroyed every prospect of success, and will effectually prevent their restoration either in Spain or America, unless this kind of government be totally subverted, and every idea of the horror it excites obliterated with it. The suppression of the inquisition must certainly hasten this great change, and it is a pleasing expectation to think, that if the court

‘ court of Madrid will not determine upon this necessary step, they will one day be compelled to it by a humane conqueror, who will insert it as the first article in a treaty of peace, that *the Autos-da-fé shall be abolished in all the Spanish dominions both in Europe and America.*

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THIS step, however necessary it may be towards the restoration of the monarchy, is not alone sufficient. Though Spain hath employed more art to conceal her weakness, than was necessary to enable her to acquire strength, the world is not unacquainted with the disorders she labours under. They have taken so deep a root, and are of so inveterate a nature, that they cannot be remedied without foreign aids. If she will but submit to accept them, she will soon see her provinces in both hemispheres filled with new inhabitants, who will bring with them numberless branches of industry. The northern and southern nations, actuated by that passion for riches which is the characteristic of the present age, will resort in multitudes to the regions that are thrown open to excite their emulation. The riches of the public will increase in proportion to those of individuals; and those which have been acquired by foreigners will become a national wealth, if they be permitted to enjoy them with that security, satisfaction, and distinction, which may induce them to forget their native country.

SPAIN would soon see her population increase to the degree she would wish, if she not only admitted persons of her own persuasion, but even encouraged, indiscriminately, all sects to settle among them. This might be done without injury to the principles of religion, and without deviating from the maxims of true policy. Well regulated governments are not disturbed by the diversity of opinions that prevail in them; neither doth Christianity,

BOOK VIII. *K*tianity, rightly understood, proscribe a liberty of conscience. The truth of these maxims hath been so clearly demonstrated, that they cannot fail of being soon adopted as a rule to all nations that are in any degree enlightened.

WHEN the Spaniards have once procured a sufficient number of men, they will then think of employing them in the most advantageous manner. The anxiety they felt to see the treasures of America pass into the hands of their rivals and enemies, made them imagine that the revival of their manufactures was the only method that could enable them to retain part of those treasures at home. Such of their writers upon finance as have insisted upon this system, appear to us to be in an error. As long as the people, who are in possession of those manufactures which serve to supply the demands of America, will attend to the preservation of them, those which may be attempted to be established in other parts, will scarce be able to vie with them. These manufacturers may possibly procure the materials and workmanship at as reasonable a rate: but some centuries must pass before they can be able to attain to the same degree of expedition and perfection in the work. Nothing could effect this great change, but such a revolution as would convey the best foreign workmen, and the most skilful artists to Spain. Till this period shall arrive, which does not seem very near, any attempts that are made will not be successful.

We may proceed still further, and venture to affirm, that though it should be in the power of Spain to procure a superiority in the manufactures respecting articles of luxury, she ought not to do it. A transient success would be productive of total ruin. Let us suppose that Spain can furnish all the commodities that are wanted in her colonies,

lonies; the immense treasures this trade will bring in, will all center in home circulation, and the consequence will be, that the coin will sink in value. This plenty of specie will certainly occasion a dearness of provisions, and enhance the price of labour. There will be no proportion between the price Spain must require for her manufactures, and that which the neighbouring nations will sell their's for. These, being able to afford their commodities cheaper, will oblige the Spaniards to take them, because an exorbitant profit will surmount every obstacle. The Spanish artificers, destitute of employment, will be reduced to the necessity of seeking for it in other places, and Spain will lose both her industry and her population.

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SINCE then it is impossible that the Spaniards should keep the whole produce of the American mines in their own hands, and since they must unavoidably share it with the rest of Europe, they should exert all their policy to preserve the greatest part of it, to make the balance incline in their favour; and in order to render their advantages permanent, they must be satisfied with such as are moderate. They will secure to themselves this kind of superiority by the practice of the necessary arts, and the plenty and goodness of their natural productions.

THE Spanish ministry have been sensible of this truth, but have been deceived in the opinion they entertained, that the manufactures were the chief promoters of agriculture. It is certain, however, that they contribute to promote the culture of lands. They are even necessary, whenever the expence of transport puts a stop to the circulation and consumption of the produce, so that the cultivator is at a loss how to dispose of his commodities. But in all other cases, the farmer can succeed

BOOK succeed without the assistance of manufactures. If
VIII. he can but dispose of his produce, he is under no concern, whether it be for local consumption, or for trade and exportation, and will go on with his tillage.

SPAIN annually sells for exportation, in wool, silk, oil, wine, iron, and kali, to the amount of above eighty millions of livres *. These exports, most of which cannot be replaced from any soil in Europe, will admit of immense augmentation. They will be sufficient, independent of what the Spaniards receive from the Indies, to pay for all the foreign goods that can be consumed in the nation. We grant, that by thus sending their unwrought produce to other countries, they will increase their population, wealth, and power; but they will promote a more certain and more beneficial kind of industry at home. Their political influence will soon claim a relative superiority, and the nation employed in agriculture will soon become greater than that which confines itself to manufactures.

AMERICA will greatly increase these advantages; and will be beneficial to Spain, both by her gold and silver, and by her commodities.

We have none but vague notions concerning the quantity of metals and of provisions which the Old World received from the New, in the early periods after the Conquest. Our knowledge of those points increases, in proportion as we draw nearer to modern times. At present, Spain receives annually, from the continent of America, 89,095,052 livres † in gold or in silver, and 54,653,902 livres ‡, in productions; which makes, in the whole, 123,748,954 livres *. Taking this calculation for a rule, it will be found

* 3,333,333l 6s 8d † 3,712,293l 16s 8d.
 ‡ 1,443,912l. 13s 8d. § 5,156,206l 12s 4d.

that the mother-country hath received from it's colonies, in the space of two hundred and eighty-seven years, 35,515,949,768 livres*. BOOK VIII.

It must be acknowledged, that a less quantity of productions was received formerly than is at present; but, on the other hand, the mines were more plentiful. If we choose to reckon the metals only, Spain will have received no more than 25,570,279,924 livres†; and we shall then strike out of the calculation, the 9,945,669,874 livres‡ of productions.

THERE would be a possibility of increasing this mass of metals and productions. For the first of these objects, it would be sufficient that the government should send over to America some persons skilled in metallurgy, and make the conditions easier on which they allow the working of the mines. But this would be only a transient advantage, since it is undeniable that gold and silver are not to be considered as riches, but only as the representations of them. These signs are indeed very durable, as they ought to be to answer their destination. But the more they are multiplied, the more they lose of their value, because they serve to represent fewer things. In proportion as they are become more common since the discovery of America, every thing is increased in value twice, thrice, and four times beyond what it was before. The produce of the mines hath constantly decreased, and the expence of working them hath been continually greater. The balance, which inclines more and more to the losing side, may so far destroy the equipoise, that it may be found necessary to drop this source of wealth. But at all events, it will be adviseable to render these operations more simple, and to

* 1,479,831,242l. 1s 6d. † 1,065,428,330l. 3s 4d.

‡ 414,402,911l. 8s. 4d.

B O O K try every possible method to make this labour
 ' **III** destructive to the human race than it hath
 hitherto. There is another source of prosp
 for Spain, which will be so far from decrea
 that it will daily gather new strength, and th
 agriculture

SUCH is the important end which the court
 Madrid must endeavour to compass. If by p
 ing the metals in that inferior rank which bel
 to them, they resolve to lay the foundation of
 public felicity on the productions that may be
 rived from a fertile and immense territory,
 New Hemisphere will emerge from that state
 annihilation in which it was found, and in wh
 it hath been left. The sun, which hath hith
 shone only on uncultivated deserts, will prod
 universal fertility

To the number of productions which it's ra
 assisted with the labour and skill of man, it
 bring forth there, we shall add those which at p
 sent enrich the islands of the New World, t
 consumption of which is daily increasing, a
 which, after having been for a long time objects
 luxury, begin now to be considered as articles
 indispensable necessity

THE aromatics, and spices of Asia, which can
 from ten to twelve millions of livres * annually o
 of the monarchy, might be made to thrive there
 and there is particular reason to expect this w
 regard to the cinnamon. It grows naturally i
 some of the vallies of the Cordelerras, and b
 cultivation, perhaps, some of the qualities it want
 might be imparted to it

SEVERAL of the provinces of Mexico formerl
 produced excellent silks, which were manufactur
 ed with success in Spain. This source of wealth

* From 416 6661 121 4d. to 500 000l

hath been lost, by the numberless obstructions it hath met with; but it might easily be revived and extended. B O O
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THE Vicuna wool is in great repute among all nations. The quantity they are supplied with, is nothing in comparison of the demands for it. The most certain method of increasing this precious wool would probably be, to let the animal that supplies it live, after having taken it away from him.

It would be impossible to enumerate the productions, which regions so immense, climates so various, and soils of so different a nature, might supply. Among such a variety of cultivations, some, perhaps, might be found that would suit the Indians, others might probably induce some of the wandering nations to fix. These associations, distributed with skill, might also serve to establish communications between colonies that are now separated from each other, by immense and uninhabited spaces. The laws, which always lose their force among men too far distant from each other, and from the magistrate, would then be observed. Commerce, which is perpetually interrupted by the impossibility of conveying the merchandise to their destination, would then become more animated. In case of war, the people would be warned of any approaching danger, and would give each other speedy and effectual succours. It must be acknowledged that this new system could not be established without difficulty. These salutary views would be thwarted by indolence, by the climate, and by prejudices: but knowledge, prudently distributed, encouragements well managed, and marks of consideration properly bestowed, would overcome, in process of time, all obstacles. The progress of cultivation would be

U

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much accelerated, by suppressing the practice now become general, of those mayorascos, or perpetual successions, which occasion such a number of idle persons in the country, and which are productive of still greater mischief in the colonies. The first conquerors, and those who pursued their measures, usurped immense districts, or obtained the gift of them. They converted them into an indivisible inheritance for their children, and the younger ones were thus, in some measure, devoted to celibacy, to the cloister, or to the priesthood. These enormous possessions have remained uncultivated, and will still continue so, till some steady and prudent man shall take upon him to permit, or to order, the division of them. Then the number of proprietors, which is at present so much confined, notwithstanding the great extent of the territories, will be increased, and productions will be multiplied with property.

THE labours would advance more rapidly, if foreigners were permitted to take a part in them. The Spanish Indies were indiscriminately shut against them all, even at the period of the discovery. The laws formally prescribed, that the persons who had penetrated into them, in any manner whatever, should be sent back into Europe. Philip II. urged by his wants, authorized, in 1596, his delegates to naturalize the few that had slipped in there, upon condition that they should pay the stipulated price for this adoption. This kind of market has been frequently renewed, but rather in favour of artists of necessary utility to the country, than for merchants, who, it was supposed, would one day retire with the wealth they had accumulated. The number, however, both of the one and the other, hath always been extremely confined, because

because it is prohibited to embark any in the mother country, and that the colonies themselves, whether from motives of mistrust or jealousy, reject them. The advancement of knowledge, gives us reason to think that this unsociable spirit will have an end. The government will at length understand what they have to expect from a healthy and vigorous man, between five and twenty and thirty years of age, what mischief he doth to the country which he quits, and how acceptable he is to the foreign nations, among whom he transfers his strength, and his industry. They will comprehend, how strangely stupid it is to make the right of hospitality be purchased by the man, who should come to multiply by his useful labours, either the productions of the soil, or the works of the manufactures. They will discern the deep policy of those people, who should make a point of inviting the inhabitants of neighbouring regions, to settle in their towns, or in their country places, or to traverse their provinces. They will find out what sort of tribute should be imposed upon nations, who might supply them with workmen, with cultivators, and with consumers, how much the spirit of intoleration which banishes is fatal, what funds of wealth a nation derives from toleration, and how indifferent a circumstance it is, to the value of commodities, whether they be produced from the labours of orthodox persons or of heretics, of Spaniards or of Hollanders. But the greatest encouragements that could be given to the cultivation of the lands, and all the favours which it would be possible to add to them, would be of no effect, without the certainty of an easy and advantageous mart for the productions. M de la Ensenada first discovered that the exportation of them would be impracticable, as long as

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

ON the commerce of the New World should be conducted in the manner it had been. Accordingly, notwithstanding the opposition he met with; and notwithstanding the prejudices he had to combat, he substituted, in 1740, detached vessels to the parade so anciently established, and so highly revered, of galleons and fleets. He was meditating other changes still more advantageous, when an unexpected disgrace stopped him in the midst of his brilliant career.

ONE half of the good which this bold and able minister had done, was annulled in 1756, by the re-establishment of the fleets: but this mischief was partly repaired eight years after, by the setting on foot of the packet-boats, which, from Corunna, were to carry, every month, to the Havannah, the letters destined for the northern colonies; and every two months, to Buenos-Ayres, those that were destined for the southern colonies. These vessels, which were of no inconsiderable size, were allowed to load at their departure with European merchandisè, and at their return, with American commodities.

THE exportation of metals was forbidden under capital penalties. This absurd prohibition was made a jest of, because it was necessary that foreign commerce should receive the value of the merchandise it had furnished. Ancient governments, which had for the laws the respect they deserve, would not have failed to abrogate one, the observance of which had been shewn to be chimerical. In our modern times, when empires are rather conducted by the caprices of the governors, than regulated upon reasonable principles, Spain went no further, in 1748, than to permit the exportation of gold and silver, upon condition that a duty of three *per cent.* should be paid to the treasury. Twenty years after, this tax

tax was increased to four *per cent.* although the government was warned by perpetual frauds, that it was their interest to lower it. BOOK
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THE year 1774 was the period of another fortunate innovation. Till that time, every kind of intercourse between the several parts of the American continent had been rigidly prohibited. Mexico, Guatimala, Peru, and the New Kingdom, were all compelled to be strangers to each other. The action and re-action which would have made them all partake of the advantages nature had distributed among them, were considered as crimes, and severely punished. But what reason can be assigned, why this proscription should not have been extended from one town to another, or from one dwelling to a neighbouring one in the same district, from one family to another in the same district? Hath nature traced upon the soil, which men inhabit, any line of limitation? How doth it happen, that under the same dominion, a place situated at an equal distance from two other places, should be allowed a free exercise of a privilege towards the East, which is refused to it towards the West? Doth not such an edict, properly interpreted, signify, let us forbid every country to cultivate more than is necessary for it's own consumption, and every inhabitant from being in want of any thing beside the productions of his own soil? A free communication was at length opened between these provinces: and the inhabitants were allowed to think themselves fellow-citizens, and to treat each other as brethren.

ONE law, of the month of February 1778, permits all the ports of Spain to dispatch ships to Buenos-Ayres, and to the South Sea. In the month of October of the same year, this liberty hath been granted for the rest of the continent, except for Mexico;

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Mexico; which will undoubtedly soon enjoy the same advantage. This will be a considerable step; but it will not be sufficient, as it is supposed, to put a stop to the smuggling trade, which occasions so many clamours.

ALL the people whose possessions have been near the Spanish settlements, have endeavoured to appropriate to themselves, clandestinely, their treasures and their commodities. The Portuguese have turned their views towards the river Plata; the French, the Danes, and the Dutch, towards the coast of Caraccas, Carthagena, and Porto-Bello. The English, who knew, and frequented these roads, have found that the cessions made to them by the last treaty, have opened to them other ways of obtaining a more considerable share of these rich spoils. All these nations have succeeded in their attempts, by deceiving or bribing the guarda costas; and sometimes by fighting them.

THE governors, far from remedying these disorders, encouraged them as much as possible. Several of them had purchased their posts; most of them were in haste to get fortunes, and wished to be paid for the dangers they had incurred by the change of climate. There was not a moment to be lost, because it was seldom they were continued in their places more than from three to five years. Among the least dangerous modes they had of acquiring riches, was that of encouraging the contraband trade, or of carrying it on themselves. No person in America exclaimed against a conduct which was favourable to all.

If the complaints of some European merchants reached the court, they were easily silenced by proper gratuities to confessors, mistresses, or favourites. The delinquent not only sheltered himself from punishment, but was also rewarded.

Nothing

Nothing was so well established or so generally known as this practice. A Spaniard just returned from America, where he had filled an important post, was complaining to a friend of the injurious reports that were spread concerning the discharge of his trust. *If you are slandered, says his friend, you are undone; but if your extortions are not exaggerated, you have nothing to do but to give up part of your plunder, and you will enjoy the remainder peaceably, and even with credit.*

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THE fraudulent trade will continue till it hath been made impossible to bear the expences of it, or to brave the dangers to which it exposes; and this can never be done but by lowering the duties, with which the Spanish ports have been successively overburdened. Even since the sacrifices made by government in the regulations of 1778, the contraband trader hath an advantage of sixty-four per cent. over the fair dealer.

THE revolution which a judicious system of policy may bring about, will occasion a deficiency, and a very considerable one, in the public treasury: but the distress that would result from it, would be no more than momentary. Immense riches will one day be produced from this long expected arrangement of things.

ACCORDING to the new system, Spain, which hitherto hath furnished annually no more than one thousand seven hundred and forty-one tuns of wine and brandy, by which the cultivators had not got one million of livres*, will now send ten or twelve times as much. This exportation would fertilize an uncultivated territory, and would disgust Mexico, as well as some other provinces of the New World, of the bad liquors they are used to consume, on account of the dearness of those that have crossed the seas.

* 41,666l. 13s 4d.

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THE manufactures, which the impossibility of paying for those which came from the Old Hemisphere have caused to be established, would not support themselves. It would have been the highest act of tyranny to put them down by authority, as some inconsiderate, corrupt, and despotic ministers have not scrupled to propose; but nothing would be more reasonable than to bring them into disrepute with the persons who now use them for clothing, by offering them, at a price suitable to their circumstances, linens and stuffs, that would be more agreeable to their taste, or, to their vanity. Then the consumption of European merchandise, which doth not exceed annually, six thousand six hundred and twelve tuns, would be doubly increased, and in process of time, much more.

THE hands which are employed in manufacture, would be transferred to agriculture, which is at present much confined. The ports, however, of all nations, are open to their commodities. Several, of them might perhaps object, that Spain should make the most of her islands, because such an improvement would necessarily occasion an evident injury to her colonies; but they are all desirous that she should bring more of the productions of her continent to market, because most of them are necessary, and cannot be replaced by others.

THIS new arrangement of things would be equally favourable to the mines. Those which have been neglected from their not being able to pay for the mercury, and other articles, would be opened again. Those, the working of which hath not been interrupted, would be followed up with more activity, and with greater means. The plenty of metals would open fresh markets to industry,

industry, which even the ablest men do not think of. BOOK
VIII.

THE Americans, become more rich and more happy, would have more confidence in government. They would readily consent to pay taxes, the nature and levying of which can only be properly regulated on the spot, and from a mature consideration of the character and customs of the people. These tributes, however trifling they may be supposed to be, would do more than fill up the deficiency occasioned in the public coffers, by the lessening of the duties.

THE crown, enjoying a more considerable revenue, would no longer abandon their provinces to the rapaciousness of their agents. They would lessen the number of them, pay those they retained in a proper manner, and compel them to respect the rights of the people, and the interests of government. To think it impossible that this spirit of justice should be established, would argue an ignorance of the resources of a well-managed authority. Campillo succeeded in it, during his austere ministry, although the governors of America at that time had contracted the habit of plunder, and that their appointments were not sufficient to maintain the dignity which their rank seemed to require.

It must be acknowledged, that the freedom of trade between all Spain and America, hath been reckoned a chimera. The harbours of this peninsula are, as it has been said, so poor, that whatever steps may be taken, that of Cadiz will remain in the sole possession of this monopoly. This would undoubtedly happen, if the ancient system should only be departed from in this point: but, if the new plan be directed by the principles already established, and already practised among commercial nations; it will be found that there are in most of the

B O O K the ports of this kingdom funds sufficient for these
 VIII. undertakings. These armaments will even soon
 be multiplied, because the moderate rate of the
 freight, and of the duties, will allow them to send
 common merchandise, and to receive in return,
 commodities of small value. In process of time,
the navigation of the mother-country, with it's co-
lonies on the continent, which at present employs
no more than from thirty, to thirty-two ships eve-
ry year, would receive so great an increase, that
the boldest speculators could not venture to fix the
limits of it.

It hath been supposed, with more foundation,
 that as soon as the ports of America should be open
 to all the ports of the monarchy, and that no kind
 of oppression would exist in the customs, trade,
 when freed from these shackles, would occasion
 unlimited emulation. The avidity and imprudence
 of the merchants, give reason to suspect this con-
 fusion; which might perhaps turn out to advan-
 tage. The colonists, encouraged by the cheap-
 ness, to the acquisition of enjoyments which they
 had been never able to procure, will have other
 wants, and consequently would devote themselves
 to other labours. If even the excess of the compe-
 tition would be an evil, it could never be any thing
 more than a temporary one. To endeavour to pre-
 vent this commotion, by laws destructive of every
 good, is to attempt the prevention of a fortunate
 revolution, by a continual system of oppression.

But the objection which had been most thought
 of in the court of Madrid, hath been, it seems, that
 all the European nations would find their trade in-
 crease by these arrangements. This is certainly
 true. But would not Spanish industry be equally
 encouraged, since, when freed from the duty which
 foreign merchandise would continue to pay, on
 entering the kingdom, it would preserve all it's ad-
 vantages?

vantages? Would not the government still collect the duties they might have thought proper to leave upon these productions? Would not their navigators still gain their freight? Would not their merchants be the agents of this commerce? Would not their subjects of the New World obtain at a cheaper rate every thing that is conveyed to them? It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance for this power, to be obliged to share with other people the supplying of it's American possessions. If it were otherwise, the maritime powers would exert their utmost efforts to deprive it of them. Whether they would succeed or not, is a point which remains to be examined.

B O O K
VIII.

THE Dutch were the first people who ventured to turn their arms against Peru. They sent a *small squadron thither in 1643, which easily took Baldivia, the only fortified port of Chili, and the key to those peaceful seas.* Their navigators already possessed, in imagination, the treasures of those rich countries, till their expectations were disappointed by the appearance of famine and disease. The death of their favourite chief increased their anxiety, and the troops that were sent against them from Callao threw them into total despair. The idea of the distance they were at from their native country, deprived them of all their courage, and the fear of falling into the hands of a nation whose hatred they had so often experienced, determined them to re-embark. If their perseverance had been greater, they would probably have preserved their conquests till the arrival of the succours that would have been sent from the Zuyderzee, when their first success came to be known.

Inquiry whether the Spanish empire be founded upon a solid basis in the New World.

SUCH was the opinion of those Frenchmen, who, in 1595, united their riches and their efforts to go and plunder Peru, and to form a settlement on that part of the coast of Chili which had

BOOK had been neglected by the Spaniards. This
VIII. scheme was approved by Lewis XIV., who, to facilitate the execution of it, granted six men of war. The squadron proceeded very fortunately, under the command of the brave De Gênes, 'till it got towards the middle of the Streights of Magellan. Success was thought to be near at hand; when the navigators, obstinately repulsed by contrary winds, and assailed with every possible calamity, were obliged to return to Europe. These adventurers, still thirsting after riches and dangers, were intending to form a new association, when the course of events united the interests of the two crowns.

THE English had turned their attention with avidity towards these countries, before other people. They were tempted by the mines as early as the year 1624; but the weakness of the prince who then reigned, proved the ruin of a considerable association formed for this great purpose. Charles II. resumed this important project, and sent Sir John Narborough to reconnoitre those latitudes that were so little known, and to endeavour to open some communication with the savages of Chili. That monarch was so impatient to know the success of the expedition, that when he was informed of the return of his admiral to the Downs, he got into his barge, and went to meet him at Gravesend.

THOUGH this first attempt had been of no advantage, the British ministry were not discouraged. The elevation of the Duke of Anjou to the throne excited a general ferment. England, which had put itself at the head of the confederacy formed to deprive this prince of the throne, was victorious in all parts, but was obliged to purchase this glory at a very dear rate. The nation was groaning under the oppression of taxes, while the treasury

fury had contracted immense engagements. It BOOK
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 seemed difficult to fulfil them, and at the same
 time to continue the war; when the idea was sug-
 gested of a company which should have the ex-
 clusive privilege of trading to the South Seas, up-
 on condition that they should liquidate the nati-
 onal debt. Such was the opinion they entertain-
 ed of the riches of Peru, and of the great fortunes
 that might easily be made there, that foreigners,
 as well as the people of the country, were eager
 to lend their money to this undertaking. The
 direction of it was given to the Lord High Treas-
 urer Oxford, the author of the project, and he
 employed, in the expences of the state, funds that
 were destined for a very different purpose.

THEN the shares of the new company fell into
 the utmost disrepute; but they soon rose again.
 At the peace, the court of London obtained from
 that of Madrid, that the South Sea Company
 should fulfil its destination. The trade of Peru
 was formally given up to them. They were quiet-
 ly enriching themselves, when a bloody war chang-
 ed the situation of affairs. A squadron, under the
 command of Anson, was sent, instead of the ships
 of those rapacious merchants which frequented
 these seas. It is probable he would have executed
 the whole of his terrible commission, had he not
 been prevented by the misfortunes that befel his
 squadron, in being obliged, from ill-concerted
 measures, to double Cape Horn at an improper
 and dangerous season.

SINCE the last peace, the French in 1764, and
 the English in 1766, have undertaken to form a
 settlement not far from the coast of Patagonia, or
 in fifty-one degrees thirty minutes of southern la-
 titude, in three islands, which the former have
 called Malouine, and the latter Falkland Islands.
 Spain, alarmed at seeing foreign nations in these
 latitudes,

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latitudes, easily obtained from the court of Versailles the sacrifice of their feeble colony: but the warmest representations produced no effect upon the court of London, which had not the same motives of attention and complaisance. The ministry on both sides grew warm. Port Egmont, recently occupied, was suddenly attacked, and taken without resistance. The two hemispheres were again going to be deluged with blood, if the aggressors had not at length determined to restore a post, which they ought not to have seized upon, at a time when negotiations were opened to examine into the rights of the two crowns. England hath since engaged, by a verbal agreement of the 22d January 1771, to suffer this feeble, useless, and expensive settlement gradually to decay. Accordingly, in the month of May 1774, there remained no more than five-and-twenty men upon it, when it was evacuated, leaving an inscription to certify to posterity, that these islands had belonged, and had not ceased to belong to Great Britain. These navigators, attentive to the dignity of their nation, insulted, at their departure, the rival power. It is from motives of condescension, and not of fear, that they are willing to desist from their claims. But when they promise eternal duration to their empire, they forget that their grandeur may disappear as rapidly as it hath risen. Of all the modern nations, what remains will there be in the annals of the world? The names only of a few illustrious personages, of a Christopher Columbus, of a Descartes, and of a Newton. What a number of petty states, all ridiculously aspiring to the great destinies of Rome!

WITHOUT the assistance of this staple, and indeed without any, Anson thought that the empire of the Spaniards in the Pacific Ocean might be attacked with advantage! According to the plan of
this

this celebrated navigator, twelve men of war, sent from Europe with three or four thousand troops, would direct their course towards the South Sea. They would procure refreshments at Bahia, at Rio Janeiro, at St. Catherine's, and throughout all the Brazils, where a strong desire prevails of humbling the Spaniards. The repairs that might become necessary, would be executed with safety upon the desert and uninhabitable coast of Patagonia, at Port Desire, or St. Julian. The Squadron would double Cape Horn, or would go through the Streights of Magellan, according to the different seasons of the year. If they should chance to separate, they would meet again at the desert island of Socoro, and then attack Baldivia with their united force.

THIS fortress, the only one that covers Chili, being carried by a sudden and impetuous attack, what service, for the defence of the country, could be expected from enervated and unexperienced citizens, against troops inured to discipline and military exercises? What could they do against the Araucos and other savages, always disposed to renew their cruelties and their ravages?

THE coasts of Peru would make still less resistance. They are all defended only by Callao, where a bad garrison of six hundred men would soon capitulate. The reduction of this famous port would open the way to Lima, which is no more than two leagues off, and incapable of making any defence. The feeble succours that could be sent to the two cities from the inland parts, where there are no soldiers, would not save them; and the Squadron would easily intercept any that might come from Panama by sea. Panama itself, which is surrounded only by a wall, without a ditch or any outworks, would be obliged to surrender. The garrison, continually weakened by detachments

BOOK VIII
ments that must be sent to Chagre, to Porto Bello, and to other posts, would be unable to repulse the most trifling force.

ANSON was of opinion, that the coasts being once subdued, the rest of the empire would soon be obliged to submit. This idea was founded upon the effeminacy, cowardice, and ignorance of these people in the management of arms. According to his informations, a bold enemy would have had nearly as much advantage over the Spaniards, as they themselves had over the Americans at the period of the discovery.

SUCH were, thirty years ago, the ideas of one of the greatest seamen England ever had. But we may imagine that he would not talk in this style at present. The court of Madrid, roused by the humiliations and misfortunes of the last war, have sent well disciplined troops into Peru, and have intrusted the fortified places to experienced commanders. The spirit of the militia is entirely changed in this part of the New World. What perhaps was possible, is now no more so. An invasion would more particularly become a chimerical idea, if in that distant region the land forces were supported by proportionate maritime strength. We shall even venture to affirm, that the junction of these two forces would infallibly expel the flag of all other nations from these roads.

THE operations of the squadron should not be limited, either to the fighting of the enemy, or to the keeping of them at a distance. The ships of which it would consist might be usefully employed, in producing, or in collecting upon these coasts, the articles which either do not grow there, or which are lost from the difficulty of exportation. These encouragements would probably awaken the colonists from the lethargic state in which they have continued for three centuries. When they were

were assured that the produce of their cultures BOOK
VIII. would reach Panama without expence, and would there be embarked upon the Chagre, to be conveyed into Europe, at a very moderate rate, they would feel themselves inclined to labours, the reward of which would no longer be doubtful. This activity would increase, if the court of Madrid would resolve to dig a canal of five leagues, which would complete the communication between the two seas, already so much advanced by a navigable river. The general good of nations, and the advantage of commerce, require, that the Isthmus of Panama, and the Isthmus of Suez, should be open to navigation, and should draw the limits of the world nearer to each other. *Oriental despotism*, and Spanish indolence, have for too long a time deprived the globe of so considerable a benefit.

If from the South, we go on to the North Sea, we shall find that the Spanish empire is established there, from the Mississippi to the Oroonoko. There are, throughout this immense space, many inaccessible shores, and a still greater number where it would be useless to land. All the ports that are considered as important, such as Vera Cruz, Chagre, Porto-Bello, Carthagena, and Puerto-Cabello, are fortified, and some of them are so upon good principles. Experience, however, hath shewn, that none of these places are impregnable. They might therefore be forced again; but of what service would this success be? The conquerors, who would find it impossible to penetrate into the inland countries, would be confined in fortresses, where an air, which is dangerous in all seasons, and fatal during six months of the year, to men who are accustomed to a temperate climate, would sooner or later bring them to the grave.

If even, contrary to all probability, the conquest should be completed, can it be imagined

B O O K that the Spanish Americans, who from taste, idleness, ignorance, habit, and pride, have an excessive attachment to their religion, and to their laws, would not break, at one time or other, the chains that had been imposed upon them³ If, to prevent this revolution, it should be resolved to exterminate them, this cruel expedient would be as great a folly in politics, as it would be horrible in morality The nation that had been guilty of this excess of barbarity could not reap any advantage from it's new possessions, without sacrificing to them it's population, it's activity, it's industry, and, in process of time, all it's power

THESE various obstacles to the invasion of Spanish America, had, as it is said, suggested in England, during the last hostilities, the idea of a system astonishing to vulgar minds The project of this power, which was then mistress of all the seas, was to seize upon Vera Cruz, and to fortify itself there in a very strong manner It would not have been proposed to Mexico to submit to a foreign yoke, for which it was known to have too great an aversion, but the plan was to detach that region from the mother country, to make it the arbiter of it's own destiny, and to leave it at liberty, either to choose a sovereign of it's own, or to form itself into a republic As there were no troops in the country, the revolution was infallible, and it would equally have taken place in all the provinces of this vast continent, which had the same motives for desiring it, and the same facility of carrying it into execution The efforts of the court of Madrid, to recover it's rights, would have been unavailing, because Great Britain took upon herself to repel them, upon condition that the new states should grant her an exclusive trade, but upon terms infinitely less unfavourable than those by which they had for so long a time been oppressed

If it were true that such ideas had ever seriously engaged the attention of the cabinet of London, they must have renounced these ambitious views, since the court of Madrid have taken the resolution to keep regular and European forces in their possessions in the New World. These forces will contain the nations, and repel the enemy, strengthened as they are at present with a respectable navy.

As soon as the Spaniards had discovered another hemisphere, they thought of appropriating to themselves every part of it. To give some eclat to their administration, the chiefs of the great settlements already formed, were continually undertaking new enterprises; and private persons, passionately pursuing the same kind of fame, generally followed these brilliant projects. The calamities inseparable from a career so little known, had not yet altered this active and indefatigable courage, when some bold and enterprising navigators ventured to direct their course towards regions, forbidden to every other nation, except that which had conquered them. The success which attended this boldness, convinced Philip II. that it was time to set bounds to his ambition; and he renounced acquisitions, which might expose his arms or his fleets to insults. This timid, or perhaps only, prudent policy, was attended with more important consequences than had been foreseen. The spirit of enthusiasm was at an end, and that of inactivity succeeded to it. A new race of men was formed in the Indies. The people sank into superb effeminacy, and those who governed them, no longer attended to any thing but the accumulation of riches; and the dignities that accompanied them, which had formerly been reserved to talents, to zeal, and to services, were now purchased. At this

BOOK VIII. period a stop was put to navigation, both in America and in Europe.

A FEW vessels only, ill built, ill armed, ill fitted out, and ill commanded, were dispatched from the ports of the mother-country. Spain could not be awakened from it's lethargy, either from the terrible blows which it received from it's enemies, or with the ruinous extortions it experienced from it's allies.

At length, after two centuries of total inactivity, the docks are again revived. The Spanish navy hath acquired real strength. It consists, at the time of our writing, of sixty-eight ships of the line, carrying from one hundred and fourteen to sixty guns, and five of these are upon the stocks; and of eighty-eight other ships, carrying from fifty-six to twelve guns. There are fifty thousand seamen upon it's lists, a great number of whom serve in the armaments fitted out by government. Many of them are also employed in the merchantmen of Biscay, of Majorca, and of Catalonia. Some are wanted for about a hundred small vessels, regularly destined for the American islands, where so few were formerly sent. They will multiply still more, when the voyages to the continent of the other Hemisphere shall be undertaken, with all the freedom which the first regulations seem to announce. The seas, which separate the two Worlds, will be covered with robust, active, and intelligent men, who will become the defenders of their country's rights, and will render her fleets formidable.

SPANISH monarchs, ye are intrusted with the happiness of the most brilliant parts of the two Hemispheres. Shew yourselves worthy of so glorious a destiny. In fulfilling this august and sacred duty, ye will repair the injuries done by your predecessors and by their subjects. They have depopulated a world which they had discovered; they have

BOOK VIII. period a stop was put to navigation, both in America and in Europe.

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B O O K IX

Settlement of the Portuguese in the Brazils The wars they have sustained there. Produce and riches of that country.

B O O K
IX

Whether the Europeans have been well acquainted with the art of founding colonies

A NATIONAL spirit is the result of a great number of causes, some of which are permanent, and others variable. This part of the history of a people is perhaps the most interesting, and the least difficult to investigate. The permanent causes are to be found on the portion of the globe which they inhabit, the variable ones are consigned in their annals, and manifested by the effects which they have produced. While these causes act in opposition to each other, the nation is in a state of insanity, and doth not begin to recover it's proper understanding, 'till the time when it's speculative principles coincide with the nature of it's situation. Then it is, that it advances rapidly towards that splendour, opulence and felicity, to which it may be allowed to aspire from a free use of it's local resources.

BUT this national spirit, which ought to preside in the counsels of the people, though it be not always to be found there, scarce ever regulates the actions of individuals. They have interests of their own, and passions which torment and blind them, and there is scarce any one who would not raise his prosperity upon the public ruin. The capitals of empires are the center of the national spirit, that is to say, the places where it displays itself with the greatest energy in words, and where it is the most completely neglected in actions

actions. I except only some unfrequent instances, where the general safety is at stake. In proportion as the distance from the capital increases, this mask detaches itself, it falls off on the frontiers; and, between one hemisphere and another, is totally lost.

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WHEN a man hath crossed the line, he is neither an Englishman, a Dutchman, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, or a Portuguese. He preserves nothing of his country, except the principles and prejudices which give a sanction to his conduct, or furnish him with an excuse for it. Servile when he is weak, and oppressive when he is strong; eager to acquire wealth, and to enjoy it; and capable of all the enormities which can contribute most speedily to the completion of his designs; he is a domestic tiger again let loose in the woods, and who is again seized with the thirst of blood. Such have all the Europeans, indiscriminately, shewn themselves in the regions of the New World, where they have been actuated with one common rage, the passion for gold.

Would it not have been a more humane, more useful, and less expensive plan, to have sent into each of those distant regions some hundreds of young men and women? The men would have married the women, and the women the men of the country. Consanguinity, the tie that is the most speedily formed, and the strongest, would soon have made one and the same family of the strangers and of the natives.

In this intimate connection, the savage inhabitant would soon have understood, that the arts and sciences conveyed into his country were very conducive to the improvement of his destiny. He would have entertained the highest opinion of the persuasive and mild instructors brought to him by the
the

BOOK the sea, and he would have given himself up to
 IX. them without reserve.

FROM this fortunate confidence, peace would have arisen, which would have been impracticable, if the new comers had presented themselves with the imperious and authoritative tone of masters and usurpers. Commerce is established without difficulty among men who have reciprocal wants; and they soon accustom themselves to consider, as friends and as brethren, those whom interest or other motives have brought into their country. The Indians would have adopted the European form of worship, because a religion becomes universal among all the inhabitants of an empire, when the government leaves it to itself, and when the folly and intolerant spirit of the priests doth not convert it into a principle of discord. In like manner civilization follows from the propensity which urges every man to improve his situation, provided there be no desire to compel him to it by force, and that these advantages be not presented to him by suspicious strangers.

SUCH would be the effects that would be produced in a rising colony, by the allurements of the most imperious of the senses. Let there be no arms and no soldiers; but a multitude of young women for the men, and numbers of young men for the women. Let us examine what the Portuguese have done in Brazil by pursuing contrary methods.

When,
and by
whom,
Brazil was
discovered.

BRAZIL is an immense continent, bounded on the North, by the river of the Amazons; on the South, by the river Plata; on the East, by the sea; and on the West, by morasses, lakes, torrents, rivers, and mountains; which separate it from the Spanish possessions.

IF

If Columbus had continued his course to the South, when he came to the entrance of the Oroonoko in 1499, he could not possibly have missed the Brazils; but he chose to steer to the north west, that he might not go too far from St. Domingo, the only settlement belonging to the Spaniards in the New World.

PETER ALVAREZ CABRAL had the honour of discovering the Brazils the following year by a fortunate chance.

How doth it happen that this is the case in almost all discoveries; and that chance hath always more share in them than ingenuity? It is because chance is ever employed, while the human understanding is checked by indolence, changes it's objects through inconstancy, reposes itself through lassitude, or tedium, and is thrown into a state of inactivity by a number of moral, natural, domestic, or national causes. Most discoveries are therefore owen to chance, or to that infinite number of men, who are always in motion, and whose attention is constantly engaged on all the objects that surround, or strike them, oftentimes without any design of gaining information, or of making those discoveries, but merely because they make use of their senses.

To avoid falling in with the calms on the coast of Africa, Cabral kept so far out at sea, that he came within sight of an unknown land lying to westward. He was driven thither by stress of weather, and anchored on the coast in the 15th degree of south latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took possession of the country, but made no settlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, because the Brazil wood was the most valuable production

BOOK of that country to the Europeans, who used it in
 IX. dying.

As this country had been discovered in going to India, and as it was doubtful whether it was not a part of that country, the same name was given to it, because the Spaniards had imagined, that it might be referred to those countries they had previously discovered. All the Europeans, however, distinguished them by the appellation of West Indies. This name was afterwards extended to all the New World, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians.

Thus it is that the names of places and things, accidentally given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philosophers, who have been desirous of tracing the origin of these names from nature; and not from circumstances merely incidental, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the things denoted by them. Nothing can be more strange, for instance, than to see Europe transplanted into America, and there regenerated, as it were, in the names and forms of our European cities, and in the laws, manners, and religion of our continent. But sooner or later the climate will resume it's influence, and reinstate things in their proper order and with their original names, though with those vestiges of the change they have undergone, which a great revolution always leaves behind it. Is it not probable that in three or four thousand years hence, the history of America at this present period will be as confused, and as inexplicable to it's inhabitants, as the history of Europe, previous to the rise of the Roman republic, is obscure to us? Thus it is that men, the knowledge they have acquired, and the conjectures they have formed, either with respect to events that are passed, or to future transactions, are all subject to the laws and motions

motions of nature, which pursues her own course, B O O K
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without paying the least regard either to our pro-
jects or to our opinions

. NOTHING can afford us a more convincing Account of
the first
inhabit-
ants con-
veyed by
Portugal
into the
Brazil.
proof of this great truth, than the imprudence
and uncertainty of all the designs and actions of
men even in their most important undertakings,
the blindness with which their inquiries are pur-
sued, and more especially the improper use they
make of their discoveries. As soon as the court
of Lisbon had ordered a survey to be taken of the
harbours, bays, rivers, and coasts of Brazil, and
was convinced that the country afforded neither
gold nor silver, they held it in such contempt, that
they sent thither none but condemned criminals
and abandoned women

Two ships were sent every year from Portugal,
to carry the refuse of the kingdom to this New
World, and to bring home parrots, and woods
for the dyers and cabinet makers. Ginger was
afterwards added, but was soon prohibited, lest
it should interfere with the sale of the same article
from India.

ASIA was then the object that attracted all
men. It was the road to fortune, to power, and
to fame. The great exploits of the Portuguese in
India, and the wealth they brought from thence,
gave their nation such a superiority in all parts of
the world, that every individual wished to partake
of it. The enthusiasm was general. No person,
indeed, went over voluntarily to America, but
those unfortunate men, whom the inquisition had
doomed to destruction, were added to the convicts
already transported thither.

THERE never was a stronger and more invete-
rate hatred than that which the Portuguese have
always entertained against the Spaniards. Not-
withstanding this national antipathy, which is of
so

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so long a standing that it's origin cannot be traced, and so confirmed that it can never be expected to cease, they have borrowed most of their maxims from a neighbour, whose power they dreaded as much as they detested it's manners. Whether from a similarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumstances, they have adopted the worst of it's institutions. They could not imitate any one more horrid than the inquisition.

THIS bloody tribunal, erected in Spain in 1482, by a combination of policy and fanaticism, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, was no sooner adopted by John III. than it struck terror into every family. To establish it's authority, and afterwards to support it, no less than four or five hundred victims were annually sacrificed, a tenth part of which was burnt alive, and the rest banished to Africa or to the Brazils. The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted against those who were suspected of sodomy; a crime of later date in the kingdom, and almost unavoidable in hot climates, where celibacy prevails. It also prosecuted sorcerers, who, in those times of ignorance, were as much dreaded, as their number was multiplied by the credulity, bigotry, and barbarism that prevailed all over Europe. The Mohammedans, though greatly decreased since they had lost the empire, were also persecuted by the inquisition; but more especially the Jews, because they were the richest.

It is well known, that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a very small spot upon the face of the earth, were dispersed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were suffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public

public offices, till that country had recovered it's independence. This first act of oppression did not prevent twenty thousand Jewish families from removing thither, when, after the conquest of Granada, the catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain, or to change their religion. Each family paid twenty livres * for the liberty of settling in Portugal. Superstition soon induced John II to aggravate the sufferings of that persecuted nation. he demanded of them 20,000 crowns †, and afterwards reduced them to a state of slavery. In 1496, Emanuel banished all those who refused to embrace the Christian religion, those who complied were restored to their freedom, and soon ingrossed the Asiatic trade, which then began to be laid open to every one. The establishment of the inquisition in 1548, proved a check to their activity. Their mistrust was increased by the frequent confiscations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them at different times. They were in hopes of purchasing some tranquillity, by furnishing Sebastian with 250,000 livres ‡ for his African expedition, but, unfortunately for them, that imprudent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip II who soon after extended his dominion over Portugal, enacted that such of his subjects as were descended from a Jew or a Moor, should be excluded from all ecclesiastical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new converts to Christianity were branded, gave them such a disgust for a country, where even the greatest opulence could not exempt them from being stigmatized, that they removed, with their wealth, to Bourdeaux, Antwerp, Hamburgh, and other towns with which they had regular connections.

* 161 22

† 1000

‡ 16,411 131 42.

BOOK IX. This emigration was the occasion of a great revolution, it diverted the commerce, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, into other countries, and deprived those two nations of the advantages the one derived from the East and the other from the West-Indies.

BEFORE these last periods the Jews, who were unremittingly persecuted by the inquisition, were banished in numbers to the Brazils. Though deprived of their fortunes by these insatiable leeches, they succeeded in establishing some cultures. This fortunate beginning convinced the court of Lisbon that a colony might be serviceable to the mother-country by other means than by metals. They began, as early as the year 1525, to cast a less disdainful look on this immense possession, which chance had bestowed upon them, and which had till then been considered as the sink into which all the filth of the monarchy was poured.

Brazil divided between several noblemen by the Court of Lisbon

THE nation soon adopted the opinion of the ministry, and the noblemen especially were first animated with this new spirit. Government granted, successively, to those among them who asked for it, a space of forty or fifty leagues upon the coast, with an unlimited extent in the interior parts of the country. They were authorized by their charter to treat the vanquished people in whatever manner they chose. They had a right, which most of them exercised, to dispose of the territory they had invaded, in favour of any Portuguese who would cultivate it, but they disposed of it only for three lives, reserving also to themselves some rent-charges. These great proprietors were to enjoy all the rights of sovereignty, except that of condemning to death, coming, and the tithes; prerogatives which the court kept in their hands. These useful, and honourable

honourable sieges could only be forfeited by the neglecting to cultivate and defend them, by the deficiency of male issue, or by the commission of some capital crime

THOSE who had solicited and obtained these provinces, expected to acquire the possession of them without much expence, and without exposing their lieutenants to any great danger. Their hopes were chiefly founded upon the indolence of the small nations they were to conquer

MAN is undoubtedly formed for society, his wants and his weaknesses require it. But societies of twenty or thirty millions of men, cities consisting of four or five hundred thousand souls, are so many monstrous productions, which are so far from being formed by nature, that she, on the contrary, is incessantly studying to destroy them. They are only supported by constant foresight, and by most extraordinary efforts. They would soon be dissipated, if a considerable portion of this multitude did not attend to their preservation. The air is infected by them, the waters are corrupted, the land exhausted to a great extent, the duration of life is shortened among them, the sweets of plenty are but little felt, and the horrors of dearth are extreme. They are the spot which gives birth to epidemic diseases, they are the haunts of crimes, of vices, and of dissolute manners. These enormous and fatal heaps of men are likewise one of the scourges of sovereignty, since cupidity invites around the throne, and perpetually increases the herd of slaves, under an infinite variety of functions and denominations. These unnatural assemblages of population, are subject to ferment and to corrupt during peace, and it war should increase the ferment, the shock becomes dreadful.

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SOCIETIES, in a state of nature, are little numerous; they subsist of themselves. They separate before a superabundance of population becomes troublesome. Each division removes to convenient distances. Such was the primitive state of the New Countries; such is that of the New Continent.

THE Brazilians in general were of the size of the Europeans, but not so stout. They were subject to fewer distempers, and were long-lived. They wore no clothing; the women wore their hair extremely long, the men cut their's short; the women wore bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the same; the women painted their faces, and the men their bodies.

EVERY colony of this vast continent had it's own idioms, but not one of them had any words to convey general and abstract ideas. This poverty of language, which is common to all nations of South America, is a convincing proof of the little progress the human understanding had made in these countries. The analogy between the words in the several languages of this continent shews, that the reciprocal transmigrations of these savages had been frequent.

THE food of the Brazilians was very simple. In a country deprived of domestic animals, they lived upon shell-fish by the sea side; along the rivers, by fishing; and in the forests, by hunting. When these precarious provisions failed, they fed upon the cassava and other roots.

THESE men were very fond of dancing. Their songs were but one tedious uniform tone, without any modulations, and commonly turned upon their loves or their warlike exploits.

IN polished states, dancing and singing are reckoned among the arts. In the midst of the forests they

they are almost the natural expressions of concord and friendship, of tenderness and pleasure. We are obliged to have masters to instruct us to display our voices, and to move gracefully. The savage hath no other instructor but his passion, his heart, and nature. He really feels what we affect to feel. Accordingly, the savage who sings and dances is always happy.

THEIR amusements are not interrupted by the worship of a Supreme Being, for they know of none; nor is their tranquillity disturbed by the dread of a future state, of which they have no idea. They have, however, their magicians, who, by strange contortions, so far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them into violent convulsions. If the impostures of these magicians are detected, they are immediately put to death, which serves, in some degree, to check the spirit of deceit.

THESE atheists are equally strangers to all notions of subordination and submission, which among ourselves are originally derived from the idea of a Supreme Being. They cannot conceive that any person can have the audacity to command, much less that any one can be so weak as to obey. But they shew most deference to the man who has killed the greatest number of his enemies.

THE Brazilians, like most other savages, shewed no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling passion in civilized states; which in good governments rises to enthusiasm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for several centuries together perpetuates in every nation its disposition, customs, and taste: this love of our country is but a factitious sentiment arising from society, but unknown in the state of nature. The moral life of a savage

BOOK is the very reverse of that of the civilized man.
 IX. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his strength increases and his understanding unfolds itself, he loses sight of the present, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of passions and pleasures, the time destined by nature for enjoyment is spent in speculation and disappointment. The heart denies itself what it wishes for, laments the indulgences it has allowed itself, and is equally tormented by its self-denials and its gratifications. The civilized man incessantly deploring his liberty which he hath always sacrificed, looks back with regret on his earliest years, when a succession of new objects constantly awakened his curiosity, and kept his hopes alive. He recollects with pleasure the spot where he passed his infant days; the remembrance of his innocent delights endears them to his imagination, and forcibly attracts him to his native spot; whereas the savage, who enjoys all the pleasures and advantages peculiar to every period of his life, and does not abstain from them in expectation of greater indulgence in old age, finds equally, in all places, objects suited to his desires, and feels that the source of his pleasures is in himself, and that his country is every where.

THOUGH the tranquillity of the Brazilians was not the result of any laws, dissensions were seldom heard of in their little societies. If drunkenness, or some unfortunate incident occasioned a dispute, and some life was lost, the murderer was instantly delivered up to the relations of the deceased, who immediately sacrificed him to their vengeance without hesitation; then both the families met, and their reconciliation was sealed by a joyous and noisy feast.

EVERY

EVERY Brazilian took as many wives as he chose, or as many as he could get, and put them away when he grew tired of them. When they violated their marriage vow, they were punished, according to a custom almost generally adopted, with death, and the husband did not become an object of ridicule on account of the injury his wife had done him. When the women laid in, they kept their bed but a day or two, then the mother, hanging the child to her neck in a cotton scarf, returned to her usual occupations without any kind of inconvenience.

In general, the consequences of child birth among the savages, are not so bad as they are among the women of civilized countries, because the first always suckle their children, and because the indolence of the men condemns them to a laborious life, which occasions the menstrual flux in them to be less plentiful, and renders the channels, through which this superfluous blood is to flow, so much the more narrow. A long rest after child birth, far from being necessary, would become as fatal to them, as it would be among us to our women of the lower class. This is not the only circumstance in which we find a compensation for the advantages of the several ranks of life. We feel the want of exercise, and go into the country in search of health. Our women begin to deserve the name of mothers, by suckling their own children, the children too are just rescued from the shackles of swaddling clothes. What can these innovations be attributed to, but to the consciousness that man cannot deviate imprudently from the laws of nature, without injury to his own happiness. In all future ages the savages will advance by slow degrees towards the civilized state, and civilized nations will return towards their primitive

BOOK state; from whence the philosopher will conclude,
 IX. that there exists in the interval between these two states, a certain medium in which the felicity of the human species is placed. But who is it that can find out this medium; and even if it were found, what authority would be capable of directing the steps of man to it, and to fix him there?

TRAVELLERS were received with distinguished marks of civility in the Brazils. Wherever they came, they were surrounded with women, who washed their feet, and welcomed them with the most obliging expressions. Nothing was spared for their entertainment; but it would have been an unpardonable affront, had they left the family where they were first entertained, in hopes of better accommodation in another. This spirit of hospitality is one of the most certain indications that man was intended for society.

HOSPITALITY, the offspring of natural commiseration, was universally practised in the earliest times. It was almost the only thing that attached nations to each other; it was the source of the most ancient, the most lasting, and the most respected friendship, contracted between families who were separated by immense regions. A man, persecuted by his fellow-citizens, or guilty of any misdemeanour, retired to distant countries in quest of tranquillity, or impunity. He presented himself at the entrance of a town, or of a village, and said, "I am such a one, the son of such a one, or the grandson of such a one, and I come for such reasons". And when he related his story, or his invented tale, in the manner the most marvellous, the most pathetic, and the best calculated to give an idea of his consequence. He was eagerly attended to; and he added, "Receive me: for, if you or your

“ your children, or your children’s children, B O O K
 “ should ever be driven by any misfortunes to IX.
 “ my country, they need only name me, and
 “ my friends will receive them.” He was immediately intreated to become their guest, and the persons with whom he preferred to live, thought themselves honoured by this distinction. He took up his abode in their house, and was treated by them like one of the family ; sometimes he became the husband, the ravisher, or the seducer of his host’s daughter.

To such adventurers as these, who were, perhaps, the first travellers, the origin of the demi-gods of paganism, the offspring of hospitality and licentiousness, may be ascribed. Most of them owed their birth to passengers, to whom a bed had been given, and who were never seen afterwards.

Let us be allowed to say, that there is no occupation in the world so immoral as that of a traveller. The traveller, by profession, is like a man who is in possession of an immense house, and who, instead of sitting down with his wife, and in the midst of his children, should employ all his life in ranging about from one apartment to another. Tyranny, guilt, ambition, curiosity, a kind of restless spirit, the desire of acquiring knowledge, and of seeing things, tedium, and the disgust arising from exhausted felicity, have driven, and will at all times drive, men from their country.

BUT, in ages previous to civilization, to commerce, and to the invention of signs to represent riches, before interest had prepared a habitation for the traveller, hospitality supplied it’s place. The favourable reception of a stranger was considered as a sacred debt, which was often repaid after

B O O K after the lapse of several centuries, by the descendants of the person who had been the object of it; and who, upon his return into his own country, took a delight in repeating the favours he had received, the remembrance of which was constantly preserved in his family.

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THESE affecting instances of humanity have decreased, in proportion as the intercourse between nations hath been facilitated. Industrious, rapacious, and interested men, have formed, in all parts, settlements, where the traveller alights, where he commands, and where he disposes of all the conveniences of life as if he were at home. The master, or the landlord, of the house, is neither his benefactor, his brother, nor his friend, he is only his upper servant. The gold that he spends at his house, entitles him to treat his host as he chooses, he cares not for your respect but for your money. When you quit his house, he thinks no more of you, nor do you recollect him, any farther than as you have been either displeased or satisfied with him. Hospitality, that sacred virtue which is extinguished amongst all nations, where civilization and social institutions have made any progress, is no longer found but among the savages, and more particularly in the Brazils than in any other country.

FAR from shewing that indifference or weakness which makes us shun the dead, and makes us unwilling to speak of them, or to remain in the places that might recall their image to our minds, the Brazilians beheld their dead with tender emotions, recounted their exploits with complacency, and celebrated their virtues with transport. They were buried upright in a round grave, and if the deceased was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces, and his arms were interred with him.

him When a clan removed to another place, BOOK
IX which often happened, merely for the sake of changing, every family fixed some remarkable stones over the graves of their most respectable relations, and they never approached those monuments of grief, without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the shouts with which they made the air resound when they were going to battle

MOTIVES of interest or ambition never prompted the Brazilians to war The desire of avenging their relations or friends, was always the occasion of their most sanguinary contests Their chiefs, or rather their orators, were old men, who determined the commencement of hostilities, gave the signal for marching, and exerted themselves during the march, in repeated expressions of implacable hatred Sometimes, even the march of the army was suspended to listen to these passionate harangues, that lasted for many hours This custom makes those long speeches we meet with in Homer, and in the Roman historians, appear more probable, but in those days, the noise of the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals

THE combatants were armed with a club of ebony six feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick Their bows and arrows were of the same wood Their instruments of martial music were flutes made of the bones of their enemies They were as well calculated to inspire courage, as our drums, which stifle our sense of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the signal, and, perhaps, the fear of death Their generals were the soldiers who had distinguished themselves most in former wars

THE first attack was never made openly, but both armies endeavoured to take the advantage

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IX. vantage of a surprisal. Their courage seldom consisted in maintaining their ground. The ambition of the Brazilians was to make a great many prisoners, which were slain and eaten with solemnity. During the feast, the old men exhorted the young to become intrepid warriors, that they might often procure themselves such an honourable repast. This inclination for human flesh was never so prevalent as to induce the Brazilians to devour such of their enemies as had fallen in battle; they only ate those who had been taken alive.

THE treatment of prisoners of war hath varied according to the degree of perfection human reason hath gradually attained. The most civilized nations ransom them, exchange or restore them at the conclusion of a war. Nations, that are not yet completely civilized, claim them as their property, and make them slaves. The common savages massacre them without putting them to torture. The most savage people of all, torture, kill, and eat them. This is their execrable law of nations.

THIS anthropophagy hath long been considered as a chimera in the opinion of some sceptical persons. They could not conceive, that any nation could have been reduced to the cruel necessity of feeding upon their fellow-creatures, to satisfy their own wants; and still less could they suppose, that any thing, except an absolute privation of every support of life, could have induced man to commit so atrocious a deed. Since the doubts of the most incredulous have been removed by a great number of facts, by testimonies of higher authority, and by more authentic accounts, some philosophers have attempted to justify this practice of several savage nations.

They

They have still exclaimed with vehemence against the barbarity of the sovereigns, who, to satisfy their own caprice, sent their unfortunate subjects to the slaughter-house of war. But they have imagined that it was a matter of indifference, whether their carcases were devoured by men, or by birds.

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PERHAPS, indeed, this custom hath not in itself any thing criminal, any thing that is repugnant to morality: but how pernicious would be the consequences arising from it? When man is once authorized to eat the flesh of man, if the taste of it should suit his palate, nothing will remain, but to make the steam of blood grateful to the nostrils of the tyrant. Let us, then, form an idea of these two phenomena, generally prevailing on the face of the globe, and let us fix our eyes upon the human species, if we can possibly bear the sight.

In the Brazil, the heads of the enemies slain in action, or sacrificed after the engagement, were very carefully preserved, and shewn with ostentation to all strangers, as monuments of valour and victory. The heroes of those savage nations bore their exploits imprinted on their limbs, by incisions which insured them respect. The more they were disfigured, the greater was their glory.

SUCH manners had not disposed the Brazilians to submit patiently to the yoke that was intended to be imposed upon them: but what could the savages oppose to the arms and discipline of Europe? A considerable number of them had submitted, when, in 1549, the court of Lisbon thought proper to send over a governor, to regulate an establishment which till then had been left to the fury and the caprices of a set of banditti. Thomas de Sousa, indeed, by building San Salvador,

Ascendant of the missionaries over the natives of Brazil and over the Portuguese, at the first ex-istence of the colony

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Kvador, gave a center to the colony, but the honour of restoring it to any kind of tranquillity was reserved to the Jesuits who attended him. Those intrepid men, who have always been prompted by motives of religion or of ambition to undertake great actions, dispersed themselves among the Indians. Such of these missionaries as were murdered from hatred to the Portuguese name, were immediately replaced by others, who were inspired with none but sentiments of peace and charity. This magnanimity confounded the barbarians, who had never had any idea of forgiveness. By degrees they began to place some confidence in men who seemed to seek them only with a view of making them happy. Their attachment to the missionaries grew into a passionate fondness. When a Jesuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themselves in the woods along the road. As he drew near, they sallied forth, played upon their pipes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air resound with joyful songs, and, in a word omitted nothing that could express their satisfaction. At the entrance of the village, the old men and chief inhabitants were assembled, who expressed as much joy, but with more sedateness. A little further on, stood women and young girls, in a respectful posture suitable to their sex. Then they all joined, and conducted their father in triumph to the place where they were assembled. There he instructed them in the fundamental doctrines of religion, exhorted them to a regularity of manners, to a love of justice, to brotherly charity, and to an abhorrence for human blood, after which he baptized them.

As these missionaries were too few in number to transact all the business themselves, they frequently deputed

deputed some of the most intelligent Indians in their stead. These men, proud of so glorious an office, distributed hatchets, knives, and looking-glasses among the savages they met with, and represented the Portuguese as a harmless, humane, and good sort of people. They never returned from their excursions without bringing with them some of the Brazilians, who followed them from motives of curiosity. When those savages had once seen the Jesuits, it was with difficulty that they ever quitted them. When they returned home, it was to invite their families and friends to come and share their happiness, and to display the presents they had received.

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If any one should doubt these happy effects of kindness and humanity over savage nations, let him only compare the progress the Jesuits have made, in a very short time, in South America, with what the forces and navy of Spain and Portugal have not been able to effect in the space of two centuries. While multitudes of soldiers were employed in changing two great and civilized empires into deserts inhabited by roving savages, a few missionaries have changed little wandering clans into several great and civilized nations. If these active and courageous men had been less infected with the spirit of the church of Rome; if, when formed into a society in the most intriguing and corrupt court in Europe, they had not insinuated themselves into other courts to influence all political events; if they had not disgusted, by their spirit of intoleration, all moderate persons, and all the tribunals by their passion for despotism; if an outrageous zeal for religion had not made them the secret enemies to the progress of knowledge, and the persecutors of philosophy; if they had employed as much art in making themselves beloved, as they

BOOK IX. did in making themselves feared; if they had been as jealous of increasing the splendour of their society, as of augmenting it's power; if the chiefs of the order had not made an ill use of the very virtues of their members; the Old and New World would still have reaped the advantage of the occupations of a set of men, who might have been made useful, had they been prevented from being necessary; and the eighteenth century would not have had cause to be ashamed of the enormities that have attended the suppression of the society. The whole universe would continue to be fertilized by their labours, and by their undertakings.

THE Brazilians had too much cause of hatred against the Europeans, not to mistrust their kindness; but their diffidence was in some measure removed by a single act of justice.

THE Portuguese had formed the settlement of St. Vincent on the sea coast, in the 24th degree of south latitude. There they traded peaceably with the Cariges, the mildest and most civilized nation in all the Brazils. The advantages they reaped from this connection could not restrain them from seizing upon seventy men to make slaves of them. The person who had committed the offence was condemned to carry the prisoners back to the place from whence he had taken them, and to make the proper excuses for so heinous an insult. Two Jesuits, who were appointed to dispose the Indians to accept this satisfaction, which would never have been offered but at their desire, gave notice of it to Farancaha, the most respectable man of his nation. He came out to meet them, and embracing them with tears of joy; "Fathers," said he, "we consent to forget all that is past, and to enter into a fresh alliance with the Portuguese; but let them" "for

“ for the future be more moderate, and more
 “ observant of the rights of nations. Our attach-
 “ ment entitles us at least to equitable pro-
 “ ceedings. We are called barbarians, yet we
 “ respect justice and our friends.” The missiona-
 ries having engaged that for the future their
 nation should more religiously observe the laws of
 peace and unity, Farancalia proceeded thus: “ If
 “ you doubt the faith of the Cariges, I will give
 “ you a proof of it. I have a nephew for whom
 “ I have a great affection; he is the hope of my
 “ family, and the comfort of his mother; she
 “ would die with grief if she were to lose her son.
 “ Yet I will deliver him to you as a hostage.
 “ Take him along with you, cultivate his young
 “ mind, take care of his education, and instruct
 “ him in your religion. Let his manners be gentle
 “ and pure. I hope, when you return, you will
 “ instruct me also, and enlighten my mind.”
 Many of the Cariges followed his example, and
 sent their children to St. Vincent’s for education.
 The Jesuits were too artful not to take great ad-
 vantage of this event; but it does not appear that
 they ever had any intention to deceive the Indians
 by inculcating submission. Avarice had not yet
 possessed the minds of these missionaries; and the
 interest they had at court, secured sufficient respect
 in the colony, to make the situation of their con-
 verts a fortunate one.

THIS time of tranquillity was improved. For
 some years past, sugar plants had been transplanted
 from Madeira to Brazil, where the climate and
 the soil were found favourable to this rich produce.
 The culture of it was at first very inconsiderable;
 but no sooner was the strength of the Negroes sub-
 stituted to the languid labours of the Indians, to-
 wards the year 1570, than it received an increase.
 This progress was growing daily more considera-
 ble,

BOOK IX. ble, because this production, which had been hitherto only of use in medicine, became more and more an article of luxury.

Irruption
of the
French
into the
Brazil.

THIS prosperity, which was visible in all the markets of Europe, excited the cupidity of the French. They attempted to form three or four settlements at Brazil. Their levity would not suffer them to wait the usually slow progress of new undertakings; and merely from inconstancy and impatience, they gave up prospects that were sufficient to have encouraged any, except such volatile minds, that are as easily discouraged as they are ready to undertake. The only valuable monument we have of their fruitless incursions, is a dialogue, which more particularly shews the natural good sense of the savages, as it is written with that simplicity of style which distinguished the French language two hundred years ago; a simplicity in which there were graces we cannot still but regret.

“THE Brazilians,” says Lery, one of the interlocutors, “being very much astonished to see the French take such pains to get their wood, one of their old men once asked me this question: What can be the reason that you Frenchmen come so far to get wood for firing? Is there none in your own country? To which I answered, Yes, and a great deal too, but not such as their’s, which we did not burn as he thought; but as they themselves used it to dye their strings and their feathers, our people employed it also in dying. He replied, Well, but do you want so great a quantity? Yes, said I; for in our country there are some merchants who have more rugs and scarlet cloths than you ever saw in this county; one of these will buy several cargoes of this wood Ha ha! says the savage, thou tellest me wonders. Then pausing

" pausing upon what I had been telling him, BOOK
 " he said, But this very rich man thou talkest IX
 " of, is he never to die? Yes, yes, said I, as
 " well as others Upon which, as they are great
 " talkers, he asked me again, So then, when he
 " is dead, to whom does all the wealth he leaves
 " belong? It goes, said I, to his children, or
 " if he hath none, to his brothers, sisters, or next
 " of kin Truly, says the old man, now I see
 " that you Frenchmen are great fools, for must
 " you work so hard, and cross the sea to heap
 " riches for them that come after you, as if the
 " earth that hath fed you was not sufficient to
 " feed them likewise We have children and re-
 " lations whom we love, as thou test, but as we
 " are sure that, after our death, the earth that hath
 " provided for our subsistence, will equally pro-
 " vide for their's, we are satisfied'

THIS mode of reasoning, so natural to savages, Conquests
of the
Dutch in
the Bra-
zils
 whom nature hath exempted from ambition, but
 so foreign to civilized nations, who have expe-
 rienced all the ill effects of luxury and avarice,
 made no great impression on the French They
 could not withstand the temptation of riches,
 which all the maritime nations in Europe thirsted
 after at that time The Dutch, who were become
 republicans by chance, and merchants from ne-
 cessity, were more persevering and more success-
 ful than the French in their attempts on the Bra-
 zils The nation they had to contend with was
 not more considerable than their own, and, in
 imitation of them, was preparing to shake off the
 yoke of Spain, though they still submitted to that
 of a regal government

ALL historical accounts are full of the acts of
 tyranny and cruelty that excited the Low countries
 to rise against Philip II The richest provinces
 were retained, or brought back under the yoke of
 a tyran-

BOOK IX. a tyrannical government, while the poorest, that were in a manner sunk under water, found means, by more than human exertions, to secure their independence. When their liberty was firmly established, they attacked their enemy upon the remotest seas, on the Indus, on the Ganges, and as far as the Moluccas, which made a part of the Spanish dominions, since Portugal had been included in them. The truce of 1609 gave time to that enterprising and fortunate republic to bring her new projects to maturity. These designs were manifested in 1621, by the establishment of a West India Company, from which the same success was expected in Africa and America, that were both comprised in the charter, as the East-India company had experienced in Asia. The operations of the new society began by the attack of Brazil.

PRECAUTIONS had been taken to procure the necessary informations. Some Dutch ships had ventured thither, in defiance of the law that prohibited the admittance of any strangers. As they greatly underfold, according to the custom of their country, the commodities that came from Spain, they met with a favourable reception. At their return, the contraband traders reported, that the country was in a kind of anarchy; that foreign dominion had stifled in the people the love of their country; that self-interest had corrupted their minds; that the soldiers were turned merchants; that they had forgotten the first principles of war, and that whoever should appear there with a competent force, would infallibly surmount the trifling obstacles that might be opposed to the conquest of that wealthy region.

THE company committed this undertaking to Jacob Willekens, in 1624. He went directly to the capital. San Salvador surrendered at sight of the

the Dutch fleet, and the rest of the province, al-
though it was the most extensive and most po-
pulous of the colony, made little more resist-
ance.

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THIS was a terrible misfortune, but it did not give any pain to the Spanish council. Since that crown had subdued Portugal, they did not find the people as submissive as they wished them to be. A disaster which might render them more dependent, appeared to be a great advantage; and their ministers congratulated themselves, upon having at length found an opportunity of aggravating the yoke of their despotism.

PHILIP, without entertaining more equitable ideas, or more elevated sentiments, thought that the majesty of the throne required of him some outward appearance of decency. Accordingly, he wrote to the Portuguese of the first rank, exhorting them to make such generous efforts as the present exigencies required. This they were already inclined to. Self-interest, patriotism, the desire of throwing a damp upon the joy of their tyrants; all concurred to quicken their alacrity. The monied men lavished their treasures; others raised troops; all were eager to enter into the service. In three months time twenty-six ships were fitted out, which sailed in the beginning of the year 1626, in company with those from Spain, which the tardiness and policy of that nation had made them wait for much too long.

THE archbishop of San Salvador, Michael de Texeira, had prepared matters so as to facilitate their success. That martial prelate, at the head of 1500 men, had at first stopped the progress of the enemy. He had insulted, harassed, beaten, driven, inclosed and blocked them up in the town. The Dutch, reduced by hunger, fatigue, and want, compelled the governor to surrender to the

BOOK IX. ^Ktroops which the fleet had landed on their arrival, and they were all carried to Europe

THE success of the company by sea, made them amends for this loss. Whenever their ships came into port they were victorious, and loaded with the spoils of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They were so prosperous as to give umbrage even to the powers most interested in the welfare of Holland. The ocean was covered with their fleets. Their admirals endeavoured, by useful exploits, to preserve their confidence. The subaltern officers aspired to promotion, by seconding the valour and skill of their commanders. The soldiers and sailors fought with unparalleled ardour, and nothing could discourage those resolute and intrepid men. The fatigues of the sea, sickness, and repeated engagements, all seemed to inure them to war, and to increase their emulation. The company encouraged this useful spirit, by frequently distributing rewards. Exclusive of their pay, the sailors were allowed to carry on a private trade, which was a great encouragement, and procured a constant supply of men. By this wise regulation, their interest was so immediately connected with that of their employers, that they wished to be always in action. They never struck to the enemy, nor ever failed to attack their ships with that degree of skill, intrepidity, and perseverance, which, must insure victory. In the course of thirteen years, the company fitted out eight hundred ships, which cost ninety millions *. They took five hundred and forty five of the enemy's ships, which with the goods on board, sold for 180,000,000 livres †. The dividend was never below twenty per cent. and often rose to fifty. This prosperity, which was entirely owing to the

* 3,750,000*l.*

† 7,500,000*l.*

war, enabled the company to make a second at-
tack upon the Brazils.

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THEIR admiral, Henry Lonk, arrived, in the beginning of the year 1630, with forty-six men of war, on the coast of Fernambucca, one of the largest provinces in those parts, and the best fortified. He reduced it after several obstinate engagements, in which he was always victorious. The troops he left behind, subdued the neighbouring countries, in the years 1633, 1634, and 1635. This was the most cultivated part of Brazil, and consequently that which afforded most commodities.

THE company were so elated with the acquisition of this wealth, which flowed to Amsterdam instead of Lisbon, that they determined upon the conquest of all the Brazils, and intrusted Maurice of Nassau with the conduct of that enterprise. That general reached the place of his destination in the beginning of the year 1637. He found the soldiers so well disciplined, the commanders such experienced men, and so much readiness in all to engage, that he directly took the field. He was successively opposed by Albuquerque, Banjola, Lewis Rocca de Borgia, and the Brazilian Cameron, the idol of his people, passionately fond of the Portuguese, brave, active, cunning, and who wanted no qualification necessary for a general, but to have learned the art of war under able commanders. These several chiefs exerted their utmost efforts to defend the possessions that were under their protection; but their endeavours proved ineffectual. The Dutch completed the conquest of all the coasts extending from San Salvador to the Amazon.

It was in these circumstances that an eloquent Jesuit named Anthony Vieira, pronounced, in one of the churches of Bahia, the most

Com-
pla ments of
a Portu-
guese

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preacher
upon the
success of
a heretic
oration

vehement and most extraordinary discourse that hath perhaps ever been heard in a Christian pulpit. The singularity of this sermon will probably plead my excuse for the long extract I am going to give of it

VIEIRA took for his text that part of the psalms, where the prophet, addressing himself to God, exclaims, "Awake, O Lord, wherefore hast thou slept? Wherefore hast thou turned thy countenance from us? Wherefore hast thou forgotten our misery and our tribulation? Awake and come to our succour Think on the glory of thy name, and save us"

"It is in these words, full of pious firmness and of religious boldness, it is thus," saith the orator, "that the king prophet, protesting rather than praying addresseth himself to God The times and circumstances are the same, and I may also venture to say, Awake, wherefore hast thou slept?"

VIEIRA repeated his text, and, after having shewn the conformity between the misfortunes of the Israelites and the Portuguese, he adds, "It is not, therefore, to the people that my discourse this day shall be addressed My voice and my words shall be employed upon a higher theme I aspire, at this instant, to penetrate even into the breast of the Divinity This is the last day of the fortnight which is destined, in all the churches of the mother country, to prayer before the sacred altars and since this day is the last, it is proper to have recourse to the sole and last remedy The preachers of the gospel have in vain endeavoured to lead you to repentance Since ye have been deaf, since they have not converted you, it is thou, O Lord, whom I will convert, and although

though we are the sinners, it is thou who shalt
repent. BOOK
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“ WHEN the children of Israel had committed the crime in the desert, in worshipping the golden calf, thou didst reveal their fault to Moses, and thou didst add, in thy wrath, that thou wouldst annihilate those ungrateful people. Moses said unto thee, Why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people? Before thou punishest, consider what is proper for thee to do. Shall the Egyptians accuse thee of having taken them out of slavery for mischief, and to slay them in the mountains? Reflect on the glory of thy name.

“ SUCH was the reasoning made use of by Moses, and such shall be mine. Thou didst repent thee of the design which thou hadst formed. Thou art still the same; and my arguments are stronger than those of the Jewish legislator. They will have the same effect upon thee; and if thou hast taken the resolution to destroy us, thou wilt repent of it. Thou canst not be ignorant that the heretic, inflated with the success which thou hast given him, hath already said, that it is to the falsity of our worship he owes thy protection and his victories. And what dost thou think the Gentiles that surround us, the Talapouin, who is yet unacquainted with thee, the inconstant Indian, and the ignorant and stupid Egyptian, but just washed with the waters of baptism, will think of this? Are the people capable of searching into, and of adoring the depth of thy judgments? Arise, therefore, and if thou hast any care of thy glory, suffer not that arguments against our faith should be drawn from our defeats. Awake, and let the storms which have dispersed our fleets disperse those of our com-
“ now

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mon enemy. I let the pestilence, and the diseases which have wasted our armies, bring destruction among their's; and since the councils of men are frustrated at thy pleasure, let darkness and confusion prevail in their's.

"JOSHUA was more holy and more patient than we are; yet his language was not different from mine, and the circumstance was much less important. He crossed the Jordan, he attacked the city of Ai, and his troops were dispersed. His loss was moderate, and yet behold him rending his clothes, falling upon the earth, giving way to the most bitter complaints, and exclaiming: *Wherefore hast thou brought us over Jordan to deliver us into the hands of the Ammonites?* And I, when the interest of an immense people, and in a vast extent of country, are concerned, shall I not exclaim, *Hast thou given us these regions merely to deprive us of them again? If thou didst design them for the Dutch, why didst thou not invite them while they were yet uncultivated? Has the heretic rendered thee such great services, and are we so vile in thine eyes, that thou shouldst have drawn us from our country, merely to clear their lands for them, to build their cities, and to enrich them with our labours?* Is this the indemnity which thou hast fixed upon in thine heart, for so many men slaughtered upon the earth, or lost in the waters? Yet if it be thy will, it must be so. But I perceive that those whom thou rejectest, and whom thou dost oppress to-day, thou wilt search for in vain to-morrow.

"JOB, when crushed with misfortunes, expostulated with thee. Thou dost not expect that we should be more insensible than he was. He said to thee, *Since thou hast resolved upon my destruction,*

" *struction, complete thy work, kill me, and annihilate me* BOOK
 " *late me but thou shalt seek me in the morning and* IX
 " *I shall not be Thou shalt find Sabeans, Chaldeans,*
 " *and blasphemers of thy name, but Job, thy faithful*
 " *servant, who worshippeth thee, will no more be*
 " *found*

" I WILL say to thee, O Lord, with Job, burn,
 " destroy, and consume us all but one day, but
 " in the morning, thou shalt seek for Portuguese,
 " and thou shalt seek in vain Will Holland
 " furnish thee, at thy call, with apostolic con-
 " querors, who, at the risk of their lives, will
 " convey over the face of the whole globe the
 " standard of the cross? Will Holland establish
 " a seminary of apostolic preachers, who will be
 " ready, for the interest of thy faith, to spill their
 " blood in barbarous regions? Will Holland
 " raise temples that are agreeable to thee? Will
 " it construct altars upon which thou wilt de-
 " scend? Will it consecrate true ministers to
 " thee? Will it offer up to thee the great sacri-
 " fice? Will it worship thee in a manner worthy
 " of thee? Yes—the worship thou wilt receive
 " from her, will be the same as that which she
 " practiseth daily at Amsterdam, at Middlebourg,
 " at Flessing, and in the other districts of those
 " damp and cold infernal regions

" I KNOW well, O Lord, that the propagation
 " of thy faith, and the interests of thy glory, do
 " not depend upon us, and that if there were no
 " men, thy power animating the stones might
 " raise up children to Abraham But I also
 " know, that since the time of Adam, thou hast
 " not created any mortals of a new species, & that
 " thou dost make use of those that exist, and that
 " thou dost admit in thy designs those that are
 " less good, only in default of the better Will it
 " needs the parable of the feast, *bring in the blind*
 " and

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and the lame. Such is the proceeding of Providence, and wilt thou reverse it at present? We have been invited, and we have not refused to come to the feast, and yet thou dost prefer to us the blind and the lame, Lutherans and Calvinists, blind in the faith, and lame in their works!

"If we be so unfortunate, as that the Dutch should make themselves masters of Brazil, the circumstance that I will represent to thee, with all humility, but with great earnestness, is, that thou wouldst consider well before the execution of thy decree. Weigh with attention what may be the consequence of it; and reflect while there is still time for it. If thou art to repent, it is better that thou shouldst do it at present, than when the evil shall be without remedy. Thou perceivest the scope of my argument, and the reasons, deduced from thine own conduct, for the remonstrance I make to thee. Before the time of the deluge, thou wert also much incensed against mankind. In vain did Noah address his prayers to thee during a century. Thou didst persist in thine anger, and the caratacts of the heavens were at length burst, and the waters rose above the summits of the mountains. The whole earth was overflowed, and thy justice was satisfied. But three days after this, when the bodies floated upon the waters, when thine eyes beheld the multitude of livid carcases, when the surface of the sea presented to thee the most melancholy and the most hideous sight that had ever afflicted the angelic choir, what was the consequence? affected with the sight, as if thou hadst not foreseen it, thy bowels were moved with anguish. Thou didst repent of having made the world. Thou didst regret the past, and didst

I

"take

" take resolutions for the future Since such is ^{BOOK}
 " thy disposition, why dost thou not spare thy-
 " self, in sparing us? Why dost thou persist in
 " thy present wrath, if it be afterwards to ex-
 " cite thy murmurs, and if thy mercy is to be
 " affected by the decrees of thy justice? Reflect
 " upon it before thou dost begin, and consider
 " the consequences of the new deluge thou hast
 " designed to produce Let me be allowed to
 " represent them to thee.

" LET us suppose Bahia and the rest of Brazil
 " are become the prey of the Dutch Behold
 " them entering into the city with the fury of
 " conquerors, and with the rage of heretics
 " Behold that neither age nor sex are spared.
 " Behold the blood streaming on all sides. Be-
 " hold the guilty, the innocent, the women and
 " the children, all put to the sword, and mas-
 " sacred one upon another Behold the tears of
 " the virgins, who weep for the injury they
 " have suffered Behold the old men dragged
 " by their hair Listen to the mixed cries of the
 " monks and of the priests, who embrace thine
 " altars, and who lift up their hands unto thee
 " Even thou, thyself, O Lord! wilt not escape
 " their violence Yes—thou wilt partake of
 " it The heretics will force the gates of
 " thy temples The host, which is thine own
 " proper body, will be trampled under foot
 " The vases that have been filled with thy blood,
 " will serve for rioting and drunkenness Thine
 " altars will be thrown down Thy images will
 " be torn to pieces Sacrilegious hands will be
 " laid upon thy mother

" THAT these insults should be offered to thee,
 " and that thou shouldst suffer them, is not a
 " matter of astonishment to me, since thou hast
 " formerly suffered others still more cruel but
 " thy

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“thy mother! O! where is filial piety? Didst thou not deprive Hosea of life, for having touched the ark? Didst thou not wither the arm that Jeroboam had raised against a prophet; and yet the heretics have thousands of arms for more atrocious deeds? Thou didst dethrone, and didst cause Balshazzar to die; for having drunk out of sacred vessels, although thy blood had not been consecrated in them; and yet thou dost spare the heretic, and there are not two fingers and a thumb to trace upon the wall the sentence of their death.

“In a word, O Lord, when thy temples are spoiled, thine altars demolished, thy religion extinct in Brazil, and thy worship annihilated, when the grass shall grow upon the avenues to thy churches, Christmas Day shall come round and no one shall recollect the day of thy birth. Lent, and the holy week shall come round, and yet the mysteries of thy passion shall not be celebrated. The stones of our streets shall cry out, as the stones did in the solitary streets of Jerusalem. There will be no more priests, no more sacrifices, no more sacraments. Heresy will arise in the pulpit of truth; and the children of the Portuguese will be tainted with false doctrines. The children of my audience will be asked, *little boys what is your religion?* and they will answer, *we are Calvinists.* And you, *little girls, what is your's?* and they will answer, *we are Lutherans.* Then thou wilt be moved with compassion and repent: but if thy repentance be to be awakened, why dost thou not prevent it?

“But tell me, what glory canst thou find in destroying a nation, and in causing it to be supplanted by another? This is a power thou didst formerly intrust to a mean inhabitant

“ of Anatho, In punishing us, thou dost BOOK
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 “ triumph over the weak ; in pardoning us, thou
 “ dost triumph over thyself. Be merciful for
 “ thine own glory, and for the honour of thy
 “ name. Let not thy wrath be prolonged for
 “ ever, nor even for one day. Thou wilt not
 “ suffer that the sun should sit upon our anger ;
 “ and yet how often hath it not risen ; how often
 “ hath it not set upon thine ? Dost thou require
 “ from us a moderation thou dost not possess ?
 “ Dost thou give us the precept without the ex-
 “ ample ?

“ FORGIVE us, O Lord ! and put an end to our
 “ misfortunes. Holy Virgin, intercede for us ;
 “ intreat thy son ; lay thy commands upon him.
 “ If he be angered with our offences, tell him
 “ that he must forgive them, as it is enjoined us
 “ by his law to forgive those who have offended
 “ us.”

WE know not whether the Lord listened to this apostrophe of the orator Vieira ; but a little while after the conquest, the Dutch were interrupted by a revolution which all nations wished for, and which none had foreseen.

THE Portuguese had never enjoyed happy times since they had submitted to the Spanish yoke in 1581. Philip II. an avaricious, cruel, despotic, designing and false prince, had endeavoured to vilify them ; but concealed his intentions under honourable pretences. His son, who too closely followed his maxims, and thought it better to reign over a ruined nation than to be indebted to the good-will of the people for their submission, had suffered them to be deprived of a multitude of conquests, which had proved a source of riches, power, and glory to them ; and which they had acquired by much effusion of blood. The successor of that weak prince, who had still
 less

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less understanding than his father, openly and contemptuously attacked their administration, their 'privileges, their manners, and all that they were most attached to. At the instigation of Olivarez, he wanted to provoke them to revolt, that he might acquire the right of plundering them.

THESE repeated outrages united all the Portuguese, whom Spain had been labouring to divide. A conspiracy, that had been forming for three years, with incredible secrecy, broke out on the third of December 1640. Philip IV. was ignominiously banished, and the Duke of Braganza was placed on the throne of his ancestors. The example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom, and by all that remained of the settlements formed in happier times in Asia, Africa, and America. No blood was shed on this great revolution, except that of Michael Vasconcellos, the base and vile instrument of tyranny.

THE new king united his interests and his resentments with those of the English, the French, and all the enemies of Spain. On the 23d of June 1641, he in particular concluded an offensive and defensive-alliance with the united Provinces for Europe, and a ten years truce for the East and West Indies. Nassau was immediately recalled with most of the troops, and the government of the Dutch possessions in Brazil was given to Hamel, a merchant of Amsterdam; to Bassis, a goldsmith of Haarlem, and to Bullestraat, a carpenter of Middleburgh. The decision of all affairs was to be referred to this council; and these were now supposed to be confined to the carrying on of a great and advantageous trade.

A CONSIDERABLE obstacle frustrated their hopes. The lands belonged to the Portuguese, who

who had remained under the government of the republic. Some of them had never acquired sufficient means to form rich plantations; and others had lost their fortunes by the calamities which are inseparable from war. As soon as this inability was known in Europe, the monied men in the United Provinces, hastened to send the funds necessary for the carrying on of all the labours which it was possible to undertake. The face of affairs was soon changed in those regions, every thing seemed animated with new life; but edifices too magnificent were erected, an infinite number of slaves perished by a contagious disorder; and excessive luxury was generally prevailing. These faults and misfortunes disabled the debtors from fulfilling their engagements. In order not to lose all their credit, they were imprudent enough to borrow money at three and four *per cent. per month*. This absurd conduct soon rendered them insolvent; and the prisons were filled with unfortunate or guilty persons. The Company were obliged to take the debts upon themselves, in order to preserve this beautiful settlement from total ruin; but they required that the cultivators should give up the entire price of their productions, till all the debts should be liquidated.

BEFORE this arrangement, the agents for the monopoly had suffered the fortifications to fall into ruin; they had sold the arms, and the ammunition: they had permitted every soldier who was desirous of it, to return to the mother-country. This conduct had annihilated the public strength, and had induced the Portuguese to hope that they might throw off a foreign yoke. The stipulation, which deprived them of all the comforts of life, to which they were accustomed, determined them to hasten the revolution.

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THE boldest of them united in 1645, to take their revenge: their design was, to massacre all the Dutch who had any share in the government, at an entertainment in the midst of the capital of Fernambucca, and then to attack the people, who, suspecting no danger, would be unprepared. The plot was discovered, but the conspirators had time to get out of the town, and retire to a place of safety.

THEIR chief was a Portuguese of obscure birth, named Juan Fernandez de Viera. From a common servant he had risen to be an agent, and afterwards a merchant. His abilities had enabled him, to acquire a large fortune; his probity had gained him universal confidence; and his generosity had made him an infinite number of friends, who were inviolably attached to his interest. He was not discouraged by the disappointment he had just met with; but he ventured, without the consent or support of government, to commence hostilities.

His name, his virtues, and his projects, assembled the Brazilians, the Portuguese soldiers, and even the colonists about him. He inspired them with his confidence, his activity, and his courage. They attended him in battle, crowded about his person, and were determined to conquer or to die with him. He triumphed, but did not allow himself to slumber over his victories, or give the enemy time to recover. Some checks he met with in the course of his successes, only served to display the firmness of his soul, the extent of his genius, and the elevation of his mind. He assumed a threatening aspect even after a misfortune, and appeared still more formidable by his perseverance than by his intrepidity. He spread such terror among his enemies, that they dared no longer keep the field. At this period
of

of his glory, Viera received orders not to proceed. BOOK
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SINCE the truce, the Dutch had seized upon some places in Africa and Asia, which they obstinately refused to restore. The court of Lisbon, intent upon matters of greater importance, had not been able to do themselves justice; but their present inability had not lessened their resentment. In this disposition, they had rejoiced to see the republic attacked in Brazil; and had even clandestinely encouraged those who had begun the hostilities. As they constantly disavowed these proceedings, and declared, both in Europe and America, that they would one day punish the authors of the disturbances, the Company imagined they would soon subside; but their avarice, which had been too long amused with false and frivolous protestations, was at length roused. John IV. being informed that considerable armaments were preparing in Holland, and fearing to be drawn into a war which he wished to avoid, exerted himself in earnest to put an end to the hostilities in the Brazils.

VIERA, who had no resource for the completion of his designs, but in his fortune, his interest, and his abilities, did not even deliberate whether he should obey. "If the king," said he, "were but informed of our zeal and our success, and acquainted with his own interest; far from disarming us, he would encourage us to pursue our undertaking, and would support us with all his power." Then, lest the ardor of his companions should abate, he determined to hasten his operations; and they continued to be crowned with such success, that with the assistance of Barretto, Vidal, and some other Portuguese, who were able and willing to serve their country, he completed the ruin of the Dutch. The few of these

BOOK IX. these republicans who escaped 'the sword and famine, evacuated Brazil, in consequence of a capitulation signed the 28th of January 1654.

WHAT changes are produced in the opinions of men! These events seem no more to us, and are, in fact, no more than the consequences of some political, moral, or natural causes; and the orator Vieira appears no more to us than an elegant enthusiast. But let us carry our imaginations back to the times of the Hebrews, when they had seminaries of inspired men; to those of the Greeks, when people resorted to Delphos from all parts of the world; to those of the Romans, who never dared to undertake any considerable enterprise, without having previously consulted the entrails of the victims, and the sacred fowls; and to the times of our ancestors, at the period of the crusades: let us imagine a prophet, a witch, an augur, or a St. Bernard, in the room of Vieira, and the revolution in the Brazils will instantly appear miraculous; it will appear as if God, moved by the sacred boldness of an extraordinary person, had sent an avenger to the oppressed nation.

THE peace, concluded three months after between England and the United Provinces, seemed to put the latter in a condition to recover a valuable possession, which they had lost by an ill-judged parsimony, and by an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances, but both the republic and the company frustrated the general expectation; and the treaty, which put an end to the divisions between the two powers in 1661, secured to Portugal the sole possession of all the Brazil*, in consideration of eight millions of livres*, which that crown engaged to pay to the United Provinces, either in money or goods.

* 333,333l. 6s. 8d.

Thus did the Dutch part with a conquest that might have become the richest of all the European colonies, and would have given the republic a degree of importance it could never acquire from it's own territory. But, in order to keep it, the government ought to have undertaken the administration and defence of it; and to make it prosper, it should have enjoyed full liberty. With these precautions, Brazil would have been preserved, and would have enriched the nation, instead of ruining the company. Unfortunately, it was not yet known that the only way to make lands useful in America was to clear them, and that this could not be done with success, unless a free trade were opened to all the inhabitants under the protection of government.

No sooner were the Portuguese entirely freed, by a firm treaty, from an enemy by whom they had been so often conquered, and so often humbled, than they applied themselves to give some stability to their possession, and to increase it's riches. Unfortunately, some of the steps taken in order to promote and insure prosperity, bore the marks of ignorance and prejudice; but they were still much superior to any thing that had been practised before this memorable æra.

Situation of the Portuguese in the Brazil, after they had expelled the Dutch.

WHILE the court of Lisbon was engaged in regulating the interior concerns of the colony, some of the most active subjects of Portugal were devising the means of extending it. They advanced to the south towards the river of Plata, and to the north as far as that of the Amazons. The Spaniards seemed to be in possession of both these rivers. The Portuguese were determined to drive them away, or to share the navigation with them.

THE river of the Amazons, so famous for the length of it's course; that great vassal of the sea,

Settlement of the Portuguese.

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guese on
the river
of the
Amazons

to which it brings the tribute it hath received from so many of it's own vassals, seems to be produced by innumerable torrents that rush down from the east side of the Andes, and unite in a spacious plain, to form that immense river. Yet the common opinion is, that it comes from the lake Lauricocha, as from a reservoir of the Cordelias situated in the district of Guanuco, thirty leagues distant from Lima, about the 11th degree of south latitude. In it's progress of a thousand or eleven hundred leagues, it receives the waters of a prodigious number of rivers, some of which come from far, and are very broad and deep. It is interspersed with an infinite number of islands, that are too often overflowed to admit of culture. It falls into the ocean under the line, and is there fifty leagues broad.

THE mouth of this river was first discovered in 1500 by Vincent Pinçon, one of the companions of Columbus, and it's source is thought to have been found out by Gonzalo Pizarro in 1538. His lieutenant Orellana embarked on this river, and sailed from one end to the other of it. He was obliged to fight his way along, and to engage with many nations, who obstructed his navigation with their canoes, and poured showers of arrows upon him from the shore. It was certainly at this time that the sight of savages without beards, as are all the American nations, struck the lively imaginations of the Spaniards, and suggested the idea of an army of female warriors. This must have induced the commanding officer to change the name of that river, which was then called the Marañon, and to call it the river of the Amazons, which name it retains to this day.

It might appear a matter of astonishment, that the discovery of America had not suggested any
miraculous

miraculous stories to the imagination of the Spaniards, of a people who indeed never possessed the delicacy of taste, the sensibility nor the graces that were allotted to the Greeks, but whom nature had indemnified for the want of these qualities, by giving them a haughtiness of character, an elevation of soul, and an imagination as fertile, and more ardent, than she had bestowed on any other nation.

THE Greeks never travelled, either in or beyond the precincts of their narrow territory, without meeting with something marvellous. On the summit of the Pindus they saw Apollo, surrounded with the Nine Muses. They heard the caverns of Lemnos resound with the hammers of the Cyclops. They fastened Prometheus to the top of Caucasus. They crushed the giants under a weight of mountains. If Ætna roared, and vomited torrents of flame, this was ascribed to the labours of Typhoeus. The plains and forests of the Greeks were peopled with satyrs and fauns, at whose dances, there was not one of their poets who had not assisted, while an entirely new system of nature did not excite any new idea in the minds of the Spaniards. They were neither affected with the variety of the plants and animals, nor with the picturesque manners of a race of men till that time unknown. What then could engage their attention? Slaughter, carnage, and plunder. The search for gold, which kept them bent towards the foot of the mountains, reduced them to the posture, and to the stupidity of brutes.

As early as the times of Hercules and Theseus, the Greeks had imagined the existence of a nation of Amazons. With this fable they embellished the history of all their heroes, not excepting that of Alexander, and the Spaniards, infatuated with

BOOK IX. this dream of antiquity, transferred it to the New World. We can scarce find a more probable origin of the opinion they established both in Europe and America, of a republic of female warriors actually existing, who did not live in society with men, and only admitted them once a year, for the purposes of procreation. To give the more credit to this romantic story, it was reported, not without reason that the women in America were all so unhappy, and were treated with such contempt and inhumanity, that many of them had agreed to shake off the yoke of their tyrants. It was further said, that being accustomed to follow the men into the forests, and to carry their provisions and baggage when they went out to fight or to hunt, they must necessarily have been inured to hardships, and rendered capable of forming so bold a resolution.

But it is absurd to imagine that women, who had so fixed an aversion for men, would ever consent to become mothers; nor is it likely that the men would go in quest of their wives, when they had made their lives insupportable at home, and always turned them away as soon as they had no more occasion for them. Much less can it be supposed that the softer and more compassionate sex would expose or strangle their own children because they were boys; and coolly and deliberately agree to commit such enormities as none would be guilty of, but a few individuals urged by rage and despair. Neither could an aristocratical or democratical republic, which it requires abilities to govern, be ruled by a senate of women; though a monarchical or despotic state, in which it is only necessary to command, hath been, and may still be, swayed by a female.

Let us consider the weakness of organization in women; their almost constant valetudinary state;

state; their natural pusillanimity, the severity of the labours required in a social state, in times of peace or war, their abhorrence of blood, their fear of dangers, and let us then endeavour to reconcile all these circumstances with the possibility of a female republic

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If some strange prejudices have been able to form societies of both sexes amongst us, who live separate, notwithstanding that natural attraction which was intended to unite them, it is not consistent with the nature of things, that chance should have produced a nation of men without women, and still less a nation of women without men. Certain it is, that since this political constitution hath been talked of, infinite pains have been taken to find it out, but no traces of it could ever be discovered. This singular prodigy, therefore, will be like many others, which are always supposed to exist, though we know not where.

Whatever may be the case with regard to this circumstance of the Amazons, the voyage of Orellana excited more curiosity than it procured information. An opportunity of satisfying it did not occur for some time, on account of the civil wars that disturbed Peru, but when tranquillity was restored, Pedro d'Orsua, a gentleman of Navarre, distinguished by his wisdom and courage, offered the viceroy, in 1560, to resume that navigation. He set out from Cusco with seven hundred men. These sanguinary people, inveterate enemies to all worthy persons, massacred their chief, who was a man of good morals, and attached to order and regularity. They set up at their head, with the title of King, a native of Biscay, of a ferocious disposition, whose name was Lopez d'Aguirre, and who promised them all the treasures of the New World.

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INTOXICATED with such flattering hopes, these barbarians sailed down the river Amazon into the ocean, and landing at Trinidad, murdered the governor, and plundered the island. The coasts of Cumana, Caraccas, and St. Martha were still more severely treated, because they were richer. They then penetrated into New Granada, and were advancing to Quito and into the interior part of Peru, where every thing was to be destroyed by fire and sword. A body of troops, hastily assembled, attacked these desperate men; beat and dispersed them. D'Aguirre, seeing no way to escape, marked his despair by an atrocious act. "My child," said he, to his only daughter, who attended him in his expeditions, "I thought to have placed thee upon a throne, but the event hath not answered my expectation. My honour and thine own will not permit thee to live, and to be a slave to our enemies; die, therefore, by a father's hand." Saying this, he instantly shot her through the body, and then put an end to her life, by plunging a dagger into her heart. After this unnatural act, his strength failed, and he was taken prisoner, drawn and quartered.

AFTER these unfortunate events, the river of the Amazons was entirely neglected, and was totally forgotten for half a century. Some attempts were afterwards made to resume the discovery of it, but they were ill-concerted and no better executed. The honour of conquering these difficulties, and of acquiring a useful knowledge of that great river, was reserved to the Portuguese.

THAT nation, which still retained some remains of her former vigour, had, some years before, built a town at the entrance of the river, which was called Belem. Pedro Texeira sailed from this place in 1638, and with a great number of canoes, full

full of Indians and Portuguese, went up the river of the Amazons, as far as the mouth of the Napo, and then up the Napo, which brought him almost to Quito, where he arrived by land. Notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, though subjects of the same master, Texeira was received with that regard, esteem, and confidence, which were due to a man who was doing a signal service. He returned in company with d'Acughna and d'Artieda, two learned Jesuits, who were commissioned to verify his observations, and to make others. An accurate account of these two successful voyages was sent to the court of Madrid, where it gave rise to a very extraordinary project.

THE communication between the Spanish colonies had long been found very difficult. Some pirates, who were at enmity with them, infested the North and South seas, and intercepted their navigation. Even those of their ships which had got to the Havannah, and joined others, were not perfectly safe. The galleons were frequently attacked and taken by whole squadrons, and always pursued by privateers, who seldom failed to carry off the straggling vessels that were parted from the convoy, either by stormy weather, or by sailing more slowly than the rest. The Amazon river seemed as if it would obviate all these difficulties. It was thought possible, and even an easy matter, to convey thither the treasures of New Granada, Popayan, Quito, Peru, and Chili itself, by navigable rivers, or at a small expence by land. It was thought that coming down the river, they would find the galleons ready in the harbour of Para to receive them. The fleet from Brazil would then have joined, and consequently strengthened the fleet from Spain. They would then have sailed with great security in latitudes little known and little

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little frequented, and would have arrived in Europe at least with a formidable appearance; or might really have been in a condition to surmount any obstacles they might have met with. The revolution which placed the Duke of Braganza on the throne, put an end to these important projects. Each of the two nations was then only intent upon securing to itself that part of the river which best suited it's own situation.

THE Spanish Jesuits undertook to set up a mission in the country lying between the banks of the Amazon and of the Napo, as far as to the conflux of both these rivers. Every missionary, attended only by one man, took with him hatchets, knives, needles, and all kinds of iron tools, and penetrated into the thickest of the forests. There they spent whole months in climbing up the trees, to see if they could discover some hut, perceive any smoke, or hear the sound of any drum or fife. When they were assured that some savages were in the neighbourhood, they advanced towards them. Most of them fled, especially if they were at war. Those whom the missionaries could come within reach of were easily bribed by such presents as their ignorance made them set a value upon. This was all the eloquence they had in their power, or all they had any occasion to employ.

WHEN they had assembled a few families, they led them to the place they had fixed upon to form a village. The savages were not easily prevailed upon to take up their abode there. As they were used to rove about, they found it an unsupportable hardship to remain always in the same place. The state of independence in which they had lived, they thought preferable to the social life that was recommended to them, and their unconquerable aversion for labour, induced them continually to return to the forests, where they had passed

passed their lives in idleness. Even those who were restrained by the authority or the paternal kindness of their legislator, seldom failed to dis-
 perse in his absence, though ever so short. But his death at last occasioned a total subversion of the settlement.

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It is impossible that any reader who reflects, should not be desirous of knowing what strange infatuation can induce an individual, who enjoys all the conveniences of life in his own country, to undertake the laborious and unfortunate function of a missionary, to quit his fellow-citizens, his friends, and his relations, to cross the sea, in order to bury himself in the midst of forests, to expose himself to all the horrors of the most extreme misery, to run the risk, at every step, either of being devoured by wild beasts, or massacred by savages, to settle in the midst of them, to conform himself to their manners, to share their indigence and their fatigues, to be exposed to their passions, or caprices, for at least as long a time as is required to learn their language, and to make himself understood by them?

If this conduct be ascribed to the enthusiasm of religion, what more powerful motive can be imagined? If to respect for the vows of obedience taken to superiors, who have a right to order them to go any where, and who cannot be asked the reason for those orders, without committing the crime of perjury and apostacy, what good, or what evil, is it not in the power of hypocritical or ambitious masters to do, who command so absolutely, and who are so servilely obeyed? If it be the effect of a deep sense of compassion for a part of the human species, whom it is intended to rescue from a state of ignorance, stupidity, and misery, what virtue can be more heroic? With respect to the constancy with which these extraordinary men persevere in so disgusting

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an undertaking; I should have imagined, that by living so long among the savages, they would have become savages themselves: but I should have been deceived in this conjecture. It is, on the contrary, one of the most laudable of human vanities that supports them in their career.

“My friend,” said once to me an old missionary, who had lived thirty years in the midst of the forests, and who, since he had returned into his own country, had fallen into a profound melancholy, and was for ever regretting his beloved savages; “My friend (said he); you know not what it is to be the king, almost even the God, of a number of men, who owe to you the small portion of happiness they enjoy; and who are ever assiduous in assuring you of their gratitude. After they have been ranging through immense forests, they return, overcome with fatigue and inanition; if they have only killed one piece of game, for whom do you suppose it to be intended? It is for the FATHER, for it is thus they call us: and indeed they are really our children. Their dissensions are suspended at our appearance. A sovereign does not rest in greater safety in the midst of his guards, than we do surrounded by our savages. It is among them that I will go and end my days.”

WITH this persevering spirit, the Jesuits had conquered, upon the Amazon, obstacles apparently invincible. Their mission, which began in 1637, consisted, in 1766, of ten thousand inhabitants, who were distributed in thirty-six villages, twelve of which were situated along the Napo, and twenty-four on the banks of the Amazon. They were from two, to ten, fifteen; or sometimes twenty days journey distant from one another. In most of the villages lived people belonging to several nations, who were all obstinate-ly

ly attached to their customs, and to their manners, BOOK IX.
 and could never be brought to consider themselves as members of the same community. The efforts that were made to extend this settlement were not, nor could they be successful.

THE women of this part of America are not fruitful, and their barrenness increases, when they remove from one place to another. The men are of a feeble habit, and the custom they have of bathing constantly, by no means contributes to increase their strength. The climate is not healthy, and contagious distempers are frequent. It hath never been possible, and probably never will be, to inspire the savages with an inclination for agriculture. Their chief delight is in fishing and hunting, amusements which are by no means favourable to the increase of population. In a country which is almost all under water, there are few convenient situations to form a settlement upon. Most of them are at so great a distance from each other, that they cannot possibly furnish any mutual assistance. The nations which one might endeavour to incorporate are also too far separated; most of them are intrenched in inaccessible places, and are so inconsiderable, that they often consist only of five or six families.

OF all the Indians the Jesuits had collected, and whom they governed, none were so lifeless or so incapable of being animated as these. Every missionary was obliged to put himself at their head, in order to make them pick up the cocoa, vanilla, and sarsaparilla, that nature plentifully offers them, and which are sent every year to Quito, three hundred leagues off, that they may be bartered for articles of primary necessity. Their whole property consists of a hut, open on all sides, made of a few osiers, and covered on the top with palm-leaves, a few implements of husbandry, a lance,

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bows and arrows for hunting, fishing tackle, a tent, a hammock, and a canoe. It hath not been possible to inspire them with desires beyond these. They are so well satisfied with what they possess, that they wish for nothing more; they live unconcerned, and die without fear. They may be said to be happy, if happiness consist more in an exemption from the uneasy sensation that attends want, than in the multiplicity of enjoyments that our wants require.

THIS infant state, the offspring of religion alone, hath been hitherto of no service to Spain, and it can hardly be expected it ever should. However the government of Maynas, with it's capital Borja, have been formed there. The destroyers of America have never thought of establishing any settlement in a country where there are no mines, nor any of those rich commodities which so powerfully allured their covetousness; but this country hath sometimes attracted the neighbouring savages.

WHILE some missionaries were establishing the authority of the court of Madrid on the banks of the Amazon, others were doing the same service to the court of Lisbon. Six or seven days journey below the settlements of St. Ignacio de Pêvas, the last under the jurisdiction of Spain, is St. Paul, the first of the numerous villages formed by the Portuguese, at a very great distance from each other, on the banks of the largest river, and on those of the small ones that fall into it.

IF the Maynas were at liberty to form connections with these neighbours, they might acquire by this intercourse some conveniences that they cannot be supplied with from Quito, being separated from that place by the Cordelernias, which cut off the communication more effectually than immense seas would do. This indulgence of government

vernment might perhaps be productive of considerable advantages; and, possibly, both Spain and Portugal, though rival-powers, might be sensible that it would be for their mutual interest to extend it. It is well known that the province of Quito is poor, for want of an opportunity of disposing of the overplus of those very commodities that are not to be had at Para. The two provinces mutually assisting each other by means of the Napo and of the Amazon, would rise to a degree of prosperity they could never attain without this intercourse. The mother-countries would in time reap great advantages from it, and it could never be prejudicial to them, because Quito can never purchase what is sent from Europe to America, and Para consumes nothing but what Lisbon obtains from foreign countries. But national antipathies, and the jealousies of crowned heads, are attended with the same effects as the passions and prejudices of men in private life. One unfortunate incident is sufficient to divide families and nations for ever, whose greatest interest it is to love and assist one another, and to promote the general good. The spirit of hatred and revenge will rather induce men to submit to suffer than not be gratified. Those passions are constantly kept up by the mutual injuries and the effusion of blood they occasion. How different is man in the state of nature from man corrupted by society! The latter amply deserves all the misfortunes he brings upon himself.

It is a circumstance we have less reason than ever to expect, that any kind of confidence can be established in these countries, between the two European nations that are in possession of them. It hath been for a long time suspected, that the river Amazon and the Oroonoko, communicated with each other by means of the Black River,

where

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where the court of Lisbon hath several settlements. This circumstance, which had been so long a matter of contest, was demonstrated in 1744, by some Portuguese boats, which having set out from one of these rivers, sailed into the other. This produced a new source of jealousy, to which the two ministers ought to have put a stop, when their attention was engaged in settling the differences which had too often stained the river Plata with blood.

The Portuguese wish to form settlements on the river Plata. Their disputes with Spain. Accommodations between the two powers.

THE Portuguese; who had appeared upon this great river soon after the Spaniards, were not long before they forgot it. They did not come there again till the year 1553, when they got as far as Buenos-Ayres, and took possession of the northern coast of the provinces. This act had not been attended with any consequences, when the court of Lisbon ordered, in 1680, that the colony of St. Sacrament should be established precisely at the extremity of the territory which they thought belonged to them. This claim appeared to the Spaniards to be ill-founded; and they destroyed these rising walls without much difficulty.

VIOLENT contests immediately arose between the two powers. Spain proved that the New Colony was placed in the space allotted to her, by the boundary marked by the Popes. The Portuguese did not deny this astronomical truth, but they maintained, that this agreement was annulled by later arrangements, and in a more particular manner by the treaty of 1668, which put a stop to hostilities, and settled the fate of the two nations. It was concluded in 1681, after a multitude of contests, that the Portuguese should again be put in possession of the post they had occupied; but that the inhabitants of Buenos-Ayres, as well as they, should have the enjoyment of all the disputed domains

THE war between the two crowns, in the begin-
 ning of the century, broke off this provisional agree-
 ment, and in the year 1705 the Portuguese were
 again driven out of St. Sacrament; but were rein-
 stated in the possession of it by the peace of Utrecht.
 This treaty granted them even more than they had
 ever had, since it insured to them exclusively the
 whole territory of the colony.

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At that period a considerable smuggling trade
 was begun, between the Portuguese settlement of
 St. Sacrament, and that of the Spaniards at Bue-
 nos-Ayres, in which all parts of the Brazils and of
 Peru, and even some merchants of the mother-
 countries, were more or less concerned.

THE court of Madrid soon perceived that the
 treasures of the New World were conveyed into
 another channel. In order to bring them back
 again, they did not think of any more certain me-
 thod, than that of limiting, as much as possible,
 the staple of these fraudulent connections. Their
 ministers asserted, that the places under the domi-
 nion of the Portuguese ought not to be extended
 beyond cannon-shot; and they caused all the north-
 ern coast of the Plata, from the mouth of that great
 river, to the settlement which occasioned them such
 terrible alarms, to be filled up with flocks, sheep-
 folds, and with the villages of Maldonado and
 Montevideo, and contrived other known methods
 of occupying this intermediate space.

THESE unforeseen enterprises revived everlasting
 animosities, which had been for a short time sul-
 pended by their commercial connections. These
 neighbouring people carried on a clandestine war
 with one another. The two nations were upon the
 brink of an open rupture, when, in 1750, a treaty
 was proposed, which appeared likely to settle the
 differences between these two monarchies. By this
 treaty, the Portuguese exchanged the colony of
 St.

BOOK IX St. Sacramento, and it's territory, for the seven missions formerly established on the eastern coast of the Uruguay

It was necessary that this treaty should be executed in America, and this was not an easy matter. The Jesuits, who from their earliest origin had opened to themselves a secret road to dominion, might have objected to the dismembering of an empire which owed its existence to their labours. Independent of this great interest, they might have thought themselves responsible for the felicity of a docile set of people, who, by throwing themselves in their arms, had intrusted them with the care of their future welfare. Besides, the Guaranis had not been conquered, and therefore, when they submitted to Spain, they did not give that crown the right of alienating them from their dominion, without having reflected on the incontestible rights of nations, they might imagine that it belonged to them alone to determine what was conducive to their happiness. The horror they were well known to entertain for the Portuguese yoke, was equally capable of leading them astray, or of enlightening them. So critical a situation required the greatest precautions, and they were attended to.

THE forces which the two powers had sent from Europe, and those which could be assembled in the New World, united themselves in order to surmount the obstacles that were foreseen, but these preparations did not terrify the people that were the object of them. Although the seven ceded colonies were not assisted by the other colonies, at least not openly, although they were no more headed by the chiefs who till that time had led them on to battle, they were not afraid of taking up arms to defend their liberty. But their military conduct was not such as it ought

ought to have been. Instead of contenting themselves with harassing their enemies, and with interrupting the provisions they were obliged to get from the distance of two hundred leagues, the Guaranis ventured to wait for them in the open field. They lost a battle which cost them two thousand men. This considerable check disconcerted their measures; their courage seemed to give way, and they abandoned their territory, without making those efforts which were expected from their first resolution, and which were, perhaps, consistent with their strength.

AFTER this event the Spaniards attempted to take possession of the colony of St. Sacrament. The Portuguese refused to give it up, alleging that the inhabitants of the Uruguay were only dispersed; and that, 'till the court of Madrid should settle them in some of their own domains, they would always be disposed to recover that territory which they had quitted with so much regret. These difficulties, whether real or imaginary, prevented the conclusion of the treaty, which was even entirely put a stop to by the two courts in 1761, and every thing fell again into confusion.

FROM that time, these deserts have been almost incessantly stained with blood; sometimes by hostilities that were not publicly avowed, and sometimes by open wars. Portugal, deprived of the assistance of England, hath at length been obliged to submit. The treaties of the first of October 1777, and of the eleventh of March 1778, have deprived it for ever of the colony of *St. Sacrament*; but they have restored to it the territory of the river St. Peter, which had been taken from it, under the pretences so frequently alleged, of the line of mark.

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WHILE these restless and enterprising men were ravaging the Amazon, and the Plata, some laborious and peaceable citizens were employed in multiplying on the coast of Brazil important productions, which were delivered to the mother-country, which, in return, supplied them with every thing they were in want of.

Portugal had settled its connections with the Brazils upon a bad plan; to which a system of monopoly, still more destructive, was substituted.

THE whole trade was carried on by a fleet which sailed every year from Lisbon and Oporto in the month of March. The ships it consisted of parted when they came to a certain latitude and proceeded to their respective destinations; but they afterwards all met at Bahia to sail for Portugal, which they reached in September or October the year following, under convoy of men of war, which had escorted them at their going out.

A REGULATION so contrary to maxims generally received, was censured by many judicious persons, who thought it would have been better to have left the merchants at liberty to send out their ships, and order them home when it suited them best. This system would have reduced the expence of freight, rendered the voyages more frequent, increased the maritime forces, and encouraged every species of agriculture. The intercourse between the colonies and the mother-country being more constant, would have given information, which would have enabled government to extend its protection more easily, and secure its authority.

THE court of Lisbon seemed frequently inclined to yield to these considerations, but was deterred by the fear of seeing the ships fall into the enemy's hands if they sailed separately; by custom, the sway of which is still more powerful over government than over individuals; by the insinuations of some men in power, whose interest would have been

been affected by the revolution; and by variety of prejudices none of which could have borne the slightest scrutiny. BOOK IX.

It was upon this principle that the Portuguese settlements in the Old and in the New World were founded, when the discovery of the gold and diamond mines, in the beginning of the century, fixed the attention of all nations upon the Brazils. It was generally thought, that those riches, added to those of another kind furnished by the colony, would render it one of the finest settlements of the globe. The Europeans were not yet undeceived, when they learnt with surprise, that the most important part of those regions were just subjected to the yoke of monopoly.

PORTUGAL hath made immense discoveries in Africa, and in the East and West Indies, without the assistance of any company. This had been done by some associations, which kings, nobles, and merchants, had occasionally formed among themselves, and which fitted out fleets more or less considerable, for those three parts of the globe. It was not to be expected that a nation, which, in the barbarous ages, had pursued the inestimable advantages of competition, would, at last, in an enlightened age, adopt a pernicious system, which, by collecting the principles of life and motion into a small part of the body politic, leaves all the rest in a state of inactivity and ruin.

THIS plan was formed among the ruins of Lisbon, when the earth had, as it were, cast out her inhabitants, and left them no asylum or place of safety but on the sea, or in the New World. The dreadful shocks which had subverted that superb capital were still repeated, and the flames that had reduced it to ashes were scarce extin-

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guished, when an exclusive company was established, for the purpose of selling to foreign nations, at the Brazils, and even in retail, within the space of three leagues, the wine so well known by the name of Port, which is drunk in many of the colonies, in part of the north, and especially in England. This company hath a capital of 3,000,000 livres *, divided into two hundred shares, of 2,500 livres † each. They lend to the proprietors of the vines, half the price they are allowed to charge for the vintage; a price which they can never raise, however favourable the year may be. For the best wines, they are paid at the rate of 156 livres five sols ‡ per ton; but they receive no more than 125 livres § for those of an inferior quality. How great soever the dearth may be, or however considerable the vent, the cultivator can never expect an increase of more than 31 livres five sols || per ton, and the ton consists of about 220 gallons.

Oporto, which is become the first city in the kingdom for it's population, riches, and commerce, since Lisbon had, as it were, disappeared, justly took the alarm, thinking that her trade would be ruined by this fatal alienation of the rights of the whole nation, in favour of a company. The province between the Douro and the Minho, the most fruitful in the kingdom, formed no further expectations from it's cultures. Despair excited a spirit of sedition among the people, and this gave occasion to the cruelties of the government. Twelve hundred persons were either executed, condemned to public labour,

* 125,000l.

† 6l. 10s. 2d h.

|| 1l 6s. 2d. h.

† 104l. 3s. 4d.

§ 5l. 4s. 2d.

banished to the forts in Africa, or reduced to BOOK IX. poverty by odious confiscations of their possessions.

ON the 6th of June 1755, an exclusive company, with a capital of 3,000,000 livres *, divided into twelve hundred shares, was established for the great Para, and for the Maragnan. Four years after, the province of Fermanbucca was put under a similar yoke, with this difference, that the latter monopoly had a fund of 3,500,000 livres †, which was divided into three thousand four hundred shares. The two societies were authorized to gain fifteen *per cent.* exclusive of all expences, on articles of provisions, and to sell their merchandize for forty-five *per cent.* more than they would have cost even at Lisbon. They were allowed to pry as little as they chose for the provisions furnished by the districts subject to their tyranny. Such extraordinary favours were, to last twenty years, and might be renewed, to the great detriment of the colony.

THE Brazils are at present divided into nine Civil, military, and religious government established in the Brazils. provinces, which are all governed by a separate commander. Although these several chiefs are expected to conform to the general regulations which the Viceroy thinks proper to make, they are independent of his authority, because they receive their orders directly from Lisbon, and because they themselves give an account to that court of the affairs in their department. They are only appointed for three years, but their commission is usually extended beyond that period. They are prohibited by the law from marrying in the country under their jurisdiction; from being concerned in any branch of trade;

* 125,000*l.*

† 145,833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

BOOK IX. from accepting any present whatsoever; from receiving any emoluments for the functions of their office; and this law hath been rather strictly observed for some years past. Accordingly, fortunes are at present very seldom made, or even begun in those posts in the New World. The persons who voluntarily resign, are obliged, as well as those who are recalled, to give an account of their conduct to the commissioners appointed by the mother-country; and citizens of all ranks are indiscriminately admitted to impeach them. If they happen to die in their post, the bishop, the highest military officer, and the first magistrate, jointly assume the reins of government, till the arrival of the successor.

THE jurisprudence of the Brazils is entirely the same as that of Portugal. There is a Judge established in each district, from whose decision an appeal may be made to the superior tribunals of Bahia, and of Rio Janeiro, and even to those of Lisbon, if it be upon matters of consequence. The great Para and Maragnan alone, are allowed to appeal immediately to the mother-country, without being obliged to appear before the two intermediate tribunals. In criminal cases rather a different plan is adopted. The judge of each district hath a right to punish without appeal small misdemeanours. The crimes are judged by the governor, assisted by some assessors appointed by the law.

A PARTICULAR tribunal is established in every province, to take care of the legacies which belong to heirs, whose residence is across the seas. They are allowed to deduct five *per cent.* for their salaries, and the rest is sent to Portugal, to be deposited in a place destined to receive it. The inconvenience of this otherwise judicious institution,

institution, is, that the Brazilian creditors can only be paid in Europe. BOOK IX.

THE finances of each province are administered by the commandant, and four magistrates. Their account is sent every year to the royal treasury of the mother-country, and scrutinized with great severity.

EVERY town, and every village, in the least considerable, hath a court of judicature. Their business is to attend to the small concerns they are intrusted with, and to settle, under the inspection of the commandant, the trifling taxes that are necessary. Several privileges have been granted to this tribunal, especially that of having the right to carry any complaint they may have against the head of the colony, immediately to the sovereign.

THE military are upon the same footing in the Brazils, as in Portugal, and in the rest of Europe. The troops are at the disposal of every governor, who appoints to all the vacant commissions, under the rank of captain. He hath the same authority over the militia, which consists of all the citizens that are not *fidalgos*, that is to say, of the first nobility; or who have no public employment. This body of men, who are all obliged to wear a uniform at their own expence, are never assembled in the interior parts of the country, except in cases of absolute necessity; but at Fernambucca, at Bahia, and at Rio Janeiro, they are exercised during one month every year, and are then paid by the government. The Negroes and Mulattoes have standards of their own; and the Indians fight under the same banners as the white men. The colony, at this present time, consists of fifteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine regulars, and of twenty-one thousand eight hundred and fifty militia.

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THOUGH the King, as Grand Master of the order of Christ, be solely in possession of the tithes, and though the produce of the Crusade belong entirely to him, yet, in this extensive part of the New World, six bishopricks have been successively founded, which acknowledge for their superior the Archbishoprick of Bahia, established in the year 1552. The fortunate prelates, most of them Europeans, who fill these honourable sees, live in a very commodious manner upon the emoluments attached to the functions of their ministry, and upon a pension of twelve hundred, and from that to thirty thousand livres*, granted to them by the government.

AMONG the inferior clergy, none but the missionaries who are settled in the Indian villages, are paid by government, but the others find sufficient resources among the superstitious people, whom they are to edify, to instruct, and to comfort. Beside an annual tribute, paid by every family to the clergyman, he is intitled to forty sols † for every birth, every wedding, and every burial. The law which reduces this contribution to one half for poor people, and to nothing for those that are entirely indigent, is seldom observed. The avidity of the priests hath even been carried so far as to double this shameless salary, in the districts of the mines.

SOME few asylums for maidens have been suffered at Bahia, and at Rio Janerio, but it hath never been allowed to establish nunneries in the Brazils. The monks have been more successful, and there are at present twenty convents of different orders, the two richest of which are occupied by Benedictines, who are as idle as they are licentious. None of these fatal establishments are

* From 501 to 1501

† 18d

founded in the gold countries. The Jesuits had taken advantage of the influence they had over government to evade the law, which forbade any regular orders to settle in those regions. No institution hath been powerful enough, since their expulsion, to extort so signal a favour.

THOUGH there be not absolutely an inquisition in the Brazils, the people of that country are not protected from the outrages of that barbarous institution. The ecclesiastics of the colony, who are appointed by that tribunal to be their agents, are all of them imbued with the same sanguinary maxims. Their merciless severity is mostly provoked by accusations of Judaism. This sort of fury rose to such an enormous height, from 1702 to 1718, that the minds of all men were impressed with terror, and most of the cultures were neglected.

THERE is no particular ordonnance in the Brazils for slaves, and they ought to be tried by the common law. As their masters are obliged to feed them, and that it is become a general custom to allot them a small piece of ground, which they are allowed to cultivate for their own emolument; those among them who are industrious, and laborious, are, sooner or later, enabled to purchase their liberty. It is seldom refused them, and they may even demand it, at the price settled by the regulations, when they find themselves oppressed. It is, probably, for this reason, that, notwithstanding the great facility they have for eloping, yet there are few fugitive Negroes throughout this vast continent. Those few who are found in the country of the mines, only employ themselves quietly at a distance, in cultivating the productions necessary for their subsistence.

SUCH

BOOK IX. SUCH of the Negroes as have purchased their liberty, enjoy the rights of citizens as well as the Mulattoes; but they are both excluded from the priesthood, and from any civil employment. Even in the service they can have no commission, except in their own batallions. The white men seldom marry the Negro women; most of them go no farther than to form illegal connections with them. These connections, which have the sanction of the manners of the country, differ scarcely from matrimony, in regions where men dispose of their fortunes in conformity to their caprices and passions.

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THE state of the Indians hath not always been the same; at first they were seized upon, sold in public markets, and compelled to work like slaves in the plantations.

IN 1570, Sebastian forbade that any Brazilian should be made a slave, except such as had been taken prisoners in a just war; but this law was not attended to, because the Portuguese would have thought themselves disgraced in tilling the ground; and at that time few cultivators had been sent to Africa

THE edict of Philip II. which, in 1595, confirmed the orders of Sebastian, and which even reduced to ten years the term of slavery, to those whom that prince had allowed to be kept in perpetual servitude, was equally disregarded.

TWO mandates, of 1605 and 1609, again declared all the Indians, without exception, to be entirely free. Philip III. being informed that his commands were not obeyed, issued a third law, by which those who infringed it, were condemned to severe penalties. But, at that period, the colony was still governed by a court of judicature, most of the members of which were born in America itself; so that the new arrangements were

were not much more respected than the old ones had been

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IX

IN the mean while, the missionaries were every day exclaiming, with greater vehemence, against the tyranny with which their converts were oppressed. In 1647, the new court of Lisbon gave way to their pressing solicitations, and formally renewed the orders which forbade the detaining of any Brazilian in slavery. The spirit of independence, which manifested itself throughout the whole colony, convinced that still tottering power, that they were not allowed to do every thing that was just, and, eight years after, their orders were qualified, by permitting that those individuals who were born of a Negro mother, and of an Indian father, might be kept in slavery.

THE Dutch had just then been driven from this part of the New World. The connections with the coast of Africa, which had been interrupted by the bloody wars, the Portuguese had been obliged to sustain against those republicans, resumed their former course. The population of the Negroes was increased in the Brazils. Their services soon disgusted the Portuguese of the natives of the country, who were weaker, and not so laborious. Those who perished were not replaced, and that species of servitude was, by degrees, abolished every where, except at St Paul, at Maragnan, and on the Amazon river, at which places there were not yet any rich settlements, and where the Portuguese were not capable of purchasing slaves. The decrees issued in 1680, 1713, and 1741, to extirpate these remains of barbarism, were of no effect, and it was not till 1755, that all the Brazilians became really free.

AT this period they were declared citizens by government, they were to enjoy that title in the same manner as their conquerors. The same road

BOOK IX. road was laid open to their talents; and they were allowed to aspire at the same dignities. An event so much calculated to excite the emotions of a feeling heart, was scarce attended to. Pleasure, fortune, war, politics, engross every body's attention, while a revolution, so favourable to humanity, almost generally escapes our notice; and that even in the eighteenth century, in the midst of that enlightened and philosophical age. The happiness of nations is much talked of, but is neither perceived nor felt.

ALL the faulty operations of government are attacked with severity, and when they, by chance, happen to do any good act, a general silence is observed. Is this the kind of acknowledgment which the people owe to those who attend to their happiness? Or is this sort of ingratitude calculated to attach them to their laborious offices? Is it thus they can be induced to fill them with distinction? If the people expect that their murmurs and their discontents should be attended to when they are oppressed, they should express their joy in the most lively manner, when they have obtained redress. Whenever the burden of the taxes hath been alleviated, let the houses be illuminated; let them assemble in multitudes, and fill the houses and the streets, let them light up bonfires, and dance and sing round them; let them pronounce with transport the name of their benefactor. Is there one among all the directors of the empire who would not be gratified with such homage? Is there one who could ever resolve to quit his place, or who could die without having received it? Is there a man who would not be desirous of increasing these triumphs? Is there one whose grandchildren would not feel a noble pride, in hearing it said of him, his ancestor was the man who occasioned the lighting up of

of bonfires four or five times, during the course of his administration? Is there one who would not be ambitious of bequeathing such a mark of distinction to his descendants? Is there a man who would dare to have engraved upon his tomb the post he had filled in his life time, without mentioning the public festivals that had been celebrated in his honour? Such a silence would transform the inscription into a satire. The people are equally abject in prosperity as in adversity; they know not how to complain, or how to rejoice.

SOME men, more attentive to the interesting scenes that are displayed from time to time on the surface of the globe, conceived a good opinion of the new system. They flattered themselves, that the Indians would apply themselves to cultivation, and multiply the productions, that their labours would enable them to procure for themselves numberless conveniences which they had not yet enjoyed, that the sight of their happiness would disgust the savages of their forests, and would determine them to a more quiet way of living, that an entire confidence would gradually be established between the Americans and the Europeans, and that they would in time become one people. They flattered themselves that the court of Lisbon would have the prudence not to disturb so desirable a harmony by any particular distinctions, that they would endeavour, by all possible means, to obliterate the memory of those evils which they had brought upon the New Hemisphere.

BUT how far are we from seeing these flattering hopes fulfilled! In the provinces of Pernambuco, of Bahia, of Rio Janeiro, and of Minas Geraes, the Brazilians continue to be mixed with the Portuguese, and with the Negroes, but without

BOOK IX. { Kout any change in their characters, because no pains have been taken to enlighten them; because no efforts have been made to overcome their natural laziness; because no lands have been distributed to them, and because nothing hath been given them in advance, by which their emulation might probably have been excited.

AT Para, at Maragnan, at Matto-Grosso, at Goyas, and at St. Paul, the Indians have been united in a hundred and seventeen villages, over each of which a white man presides. It is his business to settle the occupations, to direct the cultures, to buy and to sell for the community; to punish and to reward. It is he who delivers to the agents of government the tenth of the territorial productions. It is he who appoints those among them, who are obliged to submit to the labours of vassalage with which they are oppressed. These subaltern agents, dispersed in the several colonies, are superintended by a chief, who is vested with great authority.

THE opinions of men have been divided respecting these regulations. A writer, who hath never been out of Europe, would be considered as a very bold man, should he venture to decide between two parties, which an experience of three centuries hath not been able to reconcile. But let me at least be permitted to observe, that one of the most enlightened men that ever lived at the Brazils, hath frequently told me, that the Indians, who are suffered to be their own masters in the Portuguese colony, are very superior in understanding and industry to those who are kept under perpetual tuition.

Present
state of the
Govern-
ment of
Para.

THE government of Para is the most northern of any of these colonies. It comprehends that portion of Guiana which belongs to the Portuguese, the borders of the Amazon, from the conflux

conflux of the Madeira and the Mamore; and to the east, all that space which extends as far as the river of the Tocantines. This is the most barren and the most unwholesome country in these regions

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No productions can be expected in Guiana, except on the Black River, the elevated banks of which would be very fit for all the productions that enrich the best colonies of America. But this country is only inhabited by Indians, who are almost solely employed in the turtle fishery, and whom it hath not yet been possible to fix to any thing but the cutting of some woods for cabinet-work. This river receives that of Cayari, where, in 1749, a silver mine was discovered, which undoubtedly, for some political reasons, hath never been worked.

THE borders of the Amazon, on the north side, are almost under water. The small quantity of dry land that is found there, is perpetually infested with all kinds of insects.

THOUGH the south part of the Amazon be marshy in many places, yet it's soil is commonly more firm, and less infested with reptiles. The great and numerous rivers which empty themselves into it, afford still greater resources for cultivation, and yet there is no settlement formed upon them.

THE Portuguese navigators did not enter the Amazon before the year 1535. Ayres d'Acunha and his followers were almost all shipwrecked there. It was not till 1615, that Francis Caldeira laid the foundations of a town, which was called Belem, on the banks of the river. In 1663, the territory of Macapa was given by government to Bento Maciel Parente, and afterwards the island of Joanna to Macedo: but these two grants have been since reunited to the crown, the first by the extinction

BOOK IX. extinction of the family that had obtained it, and the second by exchanges.

THE Portuguese contented themselves, for a long time, with making excursions of greater or less extent, to carry off some Brazilians. They were a set of turbulent and daring savages, who were endeavouring to subdue other savages less strong and less courageous than themselves. These destructive saugues, these unavailing cruelties, had lasted for the space of a century, when some missionaries undertook to civilize the wandering Indians. They have assembled no inconsiderable number of them in seventy-eight villages, but without being able entirely to fix them there. After having spent four or five months in a sedentary and idle life, these men, attracted by their ancient habits, forsook their habitations and families, in order to gather in the forests the productions of uncultivated nature, which, with very little labour, they might have procured at home, or might have substituted to them others of a superior quality. The wild cocoa, the vanilla, the tortoise, and crab shells, the sarsaparilla, the capivi balsam, and the vegetable wool, which are collected in these ruinous excursions, that are renewed every year, are carried to Belem, the capital of the government.

THIS town, which is built at the distance of twenty leagues from the sea, and upon a soil that rises thirteen feet above the level of the ocean, was for a long time nothing more than a staple, to which the riches of the savages was conveyed from the inland country. Some negroes, whom it hath at last procured, have cultivated in it's neighbourhood a small quantity of cotton, which is afterwards manufactured in the country itself, and some sugar-canes, the indifferent produce of which is afterwards made into brandy. They have also

also cultivated coffee, rice, and cocoa, for ex-BOOK
portation. The sale of the flocks, which grazed IX.
in the island of Marajo, was for a considerable
time one of their resources. At present they have
scarce oxen enough remaining for their own con-
sumption.

BEFORE the year 1755, this establishment re-
ceived every year from the mother-country from
thirteen to fourteen ships. Since it hath been
subjected by a mistaken or corrupted ministry
to a monopoly, it receives no more than five or
six. The value of it's exports seldom exceeds
600,000 livres*. This feeble produce is not
much increased by the wood for building, which
the government buys up, and carries away upon
it's ships.

THE population of the colony consists of four
thousand one hundred and twenty-eight white
men, of nine thousand nine hundred and nine-
teen black slaves, or free Mulattoes, and of thirty-
four thousand eight hundred and forty-four In-
dians.

THIS country, which in 1778 hath been re-
lieved from the oppression necessarily attending
an exclusive privilege, will undoubtedly avail
itself of it's liberty. The port of Belem, which
is called Para, a name which is likewise some-
times given to the city, doth not oppose so many
obstacles to the success of any enterprise as is
commonly imagined. It is, indeed, difficult of
access. Currents which run in contrary direc-
tions, and which are occasioned by a multitude
of small islands, render the navigation of ships
slow and uncertain. But when once they get into
the harbour, they anchor in a muddy bottom,
with four, five, or six fathom of water. The ca-
nal which leads up to it grows, however, more

* 25,000*l*.

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State of
the Go-
vernment
of Marag-
uan.

shallow every day; and in a short time it will not be practicable, if, as it must be supposed, the waters continue to deposit as much earth as they have dragged into it for this last century.

THE Maragnan is separated from Para on the North, by the river of the Tocantines; from Goyaz on the South; by that of the Cordeleiras mountains, which is called Guacuragua; and on the West, from Pernambuco by the Ypiapaba mountains.

THE Portuguese arrived for the first time in this province in 1535; and they were cast upon it by a storm; but they did not settle there till 1599. The French seized upon it in 1612; and were driven from thence three years after. It remained under the yoke of the Dutch from 1641 to 1644; at which period the first usurpers again took possession of it, and have kept it ever since.

THE business of collecting the ambergrease upon the coasts, which was the amusement of the savages, became the occupation of the first Europeans. This trifling resource was soon exhausted, and no other was substituted to it, as there ought to have been. The settlement continued for a long time in a languishing state; and it hath been but lately perceived, that the cotton which grew upon this territory was the best in the New World. The culture of this plant increases daily, and for some years past that of rice hath been joined to it, though it be of an inferior quality to the rice of the Levant, and even to that of North America. Several attempts have been made to produce silk there; but the climate hath been found totally unfit for it. The project, however, of enriching the country by the culture of indigo, seems to promise much success.

The

The finest arnotto of the Brazils is already gathered there. BOOK IX.

THE part of the colony first peopled was the island of Saint Louis, which is seven leagues long and four broad, and which is separated from the continent only by a very small river. There is a town of the same name in it, where all the trade is transacted, although it hath a bad harbour. Some cultivations are carried on there; but the most considerable are on the continent, upon the rivers of Ytapicorié, of Mony, of Iquara, of Pindaré, and of Meary.

IN the same government, and towards the back of the province, is the country of Pauchy, where the inhabitants of St. Paul penetrated in 1571. It was not conquered without much difficulty, and is not yet entirely subdued on the Eastern side. It's soil is uneven and sandy, though exceedingly elevated. It is inhabited by shepherds. Upon this soil, which is covered with saltpetre, they rear a considerable number of horses and horned cattle, which are sold to tolerable advantage in the neighbouring countries; but the sheep degenerate there, as well as in the rest of the Brazils, except in the Coritibe. Unfortunately the too frequent droughts, and the excessive heats, very often destroy whole flocks, when sufficient attention is not paid to lead them in time to distant pastures.

THE mines of sulphur, alum, copperas, iron, lead, and antimony, are very common, and very superficial, in these mountains, and yet none of them have been opened. Permission was indeed given, in 1572, to work the silver one which had been discovered three or four years before: but very soon after the court retracted this permission, for reasons that are not known to us.

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THIS government consists of eight thousand nine hundred and ninety three white men, seventeen thousand eight hundred and forty four Negroes, or free Mulattoes, and slaves, and of thirty eight thousand nine hundred and thirty seven Indians, either scattered, or assembled in ten villages. The exportations have not as yet been equal to this degree of population. Their value was little more than 6 or 700,000 livres*, but since the monopoly hath been abolished, it must become more considerable.

State of
the go-
vernment
of Fer-
nambucca.

THE province which follows that of Maragnan, and which is called Fernambucca, was formed out of four private estates.

FERNAMBUCCA itself was given, in 1527, to Edward Coelho, and was reunited to the crown as a conquest, after the Dutch had been driven from it in 1654.

THE historian De Barros obtained the district of Paraiba from John III, but he neglected the peopling of it. Some vagabonds went over in 1560, and in 1591 were subdued by the French, who were soon obliged to evacuate it. Philip III caused a city to be erected upon this royal domain, which is at present known by the name of Notre Dame de Neves.

THE property of Rio Grande, a district which had till then been entirely neglected, was ceded to Emanuel Jordan in 1654. The shipwreck of this enterprising man, at the entrance of the harbour, restored to the hands of government, lands, which were soon after cultivated by some individuals.

It is not known at what time, nor to whom, Tamarica had been granted; but it became a national possession again soon after the elevation of the house of Braganza to the throne of Portugal.

* From 25 000l to 29,166l 13s 4d.

THIS flourishing government is at present surrounded by the river St. Francis, and by several branches of the Cordeleirias. The coasts afford a small quantity of cotton. In no country of these regions sugar is to be found in such great perfection as upon those plains, which are well watered. The mountains are covered with horned cattle, which supply a great quantity of leather. This district alone furnishes the Brazil wood.

THE tree which it is taken from is not perfectly known by the botanists. It is, however, believed, that it is in some respects analagous to the *bresillet* of the Antilles, and to the tara, or poinciana spinosa of Peru. Those who have described it affirm, that it is tall, very branchy, and covered with a brown bark full of thorns. It's leaves are composed of a common costa, which supports from four to six other costæ, furnished with two rows of small green leaves, shining, and resembling the leaves of box. The flowers, disposed in clusters towards the extremity of the branches, are small, and more odoriferous than those of the lilly: they have a calix with five divisions, ten stamina, and five petals, four of which are yellow, and the fifth is of a beautiful red colour. Their pistil becomes an oblong flattened pod, stuck full of points, and filled with some red seeds.

THE bark of this tree is so thick, that the wood is reduced almost to nothing when stripped of it. This wood is very fit for works of turnery, and takes a good polish: but it's principal use is in the red dye, where it supplies the place of double the quantity of logwood. The most arid soils, and the most craggy rocks, are the places which it chiefly delights in.

THE trade of this wood is monopolized, and it belongs to the Queen's household. The first dealers

BOOK dealers in this article agreed to receive annually
 IX. in the magazines of government, where it is deposited, thirty thousand quintals of it, at 30 livres * the quintal. It was discovered, after several experiments, that this quantity was not consumed in Europe, and they were obliged to take no more than twenty thousand quintals, but it was raised to 40 livres † the quintal. Such is the present contract, which is in the hands of two Englishmen settled in Portugal. They give 800,000 livres ‡ for the wood with which they are furnished, and sell it at Lisbon itself for 1,000,000 livres §. The expences they are at amount to 128,000 livres ||; and therefore the profits are 72,000 livres ¶.

THE population of Fernambucca consists of nineteen thousand six hundred and sixty-five white men, thirty-nine thousand one hundred thirty-two Negroes, or Mulattoes, and thirty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight Indians. There are four harbours fit to receive small vessels. That where the shoal is, which is the port of Olin-da, can admit larger ships; but they are neither conveniently situated nor in safety.

THE island of Fernando de Noronha is at sixty leagues distance from these coasts of Fernambucca; but it is under its dependence. The Portuguese, who had at first settled there, soon forsook it; but in 1738, the court of Lisbon, suspecting that the French East India Company meant to take possession of it, built seven forts there, constructed with great skill. They are provided with artillery, and defended with a garrison of regular troops, which is relieved every six months. There are no other inhabitants but a few

* 21. 39
 † 33,333 6s 2d.
 ‡ 5,333 6s 2d

† 21. 139 4d.
 § 41,666 139 4d
 ¶ 1,000

exiles; a small number of very indigent Mestees, and the Indians who are employed in the public labours. Though this soil be deep and good, no kind of cultivation hath ever succeeded there, because the rains do not fall for three or four years together. From the month of December till the month of April, turtles are the only food; after that time they disappear, and the inhabitants have no resource but in the provisions sent from the continent. There are two harbours for foreign vessels in the island, where ships of all rates are in safety, when North and West winds do not prevail.

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The government of Bahia is inclosed by the river St. Francis on the North, by the river Doce on the South, and by the river Preto, one of the arms of the Green River, on the East. It consists of the captainship of Xegerippe, the revolutions of which are not known to us; of the captainship of Ilheus, of which George de Figueroa was deprived, after it's destruction by the Aimorés-Indians; of the captainship of Porto Seguro, which returned to the crown after the extinction of the family of the Tourinhos; and of the country of Bahia, which was never a private property.

State of
the go-
vernment
of Bahia.

SAN SALVADOR, the capital of this settlement, was for a long time that of all the Brazils. The way to it is by the bay of All Saints, which is two leagues and a half broad at the entrance. On each side stands a fortress, intended rather to prevent landing, than to hinder ships from passing by. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues in length, and interspersed with little islands, which are full of cotton trees, and form an agreeable prospect. It grows narrow towards the bottom, which is sheltered from every attack, and makes an excellent harbour for the most numerous fleets. The

town

B O O K town commands this harbour, being built on the
IX slope of a steep hill

THIS city contains two thousand houses, which are most of them built with great magnificence. The furniture here is the more rich and elegant, as extravagance in dress is strictly prohibited. By a very old law, which hath often been broken, and which extends to the New World since the year 1749, the Portuguese are forbidden to wear any gold or silver stuff, or any laced clothes, but their passion for shew, which no laws can eradicate, hath induced them to contrive some substitute, and to wear diamond crosses, medals, and chaplets, or beads, the rich ensigns of a poor religion. The gold they cannot wear themselves, they lavish to adorn their domestic slaves.

As the situation of the town will not admit of coaches, the rich, who will always be distinguished from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in cotton hammocks. Supinely stretched upon velvet cushions, and surrounded with silken curtains, which they open and shut at pleasure, those proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuously, though with less expedition, than in the most easy and elegant carriages.

THE women seldom enjoy this luxury. These people, who are superstitious to a degree of fanaticism, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on high festivals, and no one is suffered to see them in their own houses. This restraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealousy, doth not prevent them from carrying on intrigues, though they are sure of being stabbed to death upon the slightest suspicion. By a lenity more judicious than our's, a girl who, without her mother's consent, or even under her protection, yields to the importunities of a lover, is treated

treated with less severity. But if the father cannot conceal her infamy by disposing of her in marriage, he abandons her to the scandalous trade of a courtesan. Thus it is that riches bring on a train of vices and corruption, especially when they are acquired by bloodshed and murder, and are not preserved by labour.

THE want of society, consequent upon the separation of the sexes, is not the only impediment to the pleasures and enjoyments of life at Bahia. The hypocrisy of some, the superstition of others; avarice within, and pompous parade without; extreme effeminacy, bordering upon extreme cruelty, in a climate where all the sensations are quick and impetuous; the distrust that attends weakness; the indolence that trusts every thing to slaves, whether it relate to pleasure or business: all the vices that are to be found, either separately or collectively, in the most corrupt southern countries, constitute the character of the Portuguese at Bahia. However, the depravity of their manners seems to decrease, since they are become rather more enlightened. The acquisition of knowledge, the abuse of which will sometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine, if not reform, a degenerate nation; it will at least make crimes less frequent, will cast a varnish of elegance over corruption, and will introduce an hypocritical kind of urbanity, and a contempt for the grosser vices.

THOUGH San Salvador be no longer the capital of the Brazils, yet the province is still the most populous of the colony. It consists of thirty nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-four white men, and sixty-eight thousand and twenty-four Negroes. It shares with the other colonies the culture of sugar, cotton, and of some other productions; and hath the advantage over them of the fishery, and of tobacco.

BOOK IX THE whale fishery hath been very anciently established in the Brazils. All the Portuguese of the Old and of the New World had enjoyed, from it's first rise, the natural rights of this fishery, but it hath been, for a long time past, subjected to an exclusive privilege, purchased by a company formed at Lisbon, whose ships are freighted at Bahia. It's annual produce consists, at present, of three thousand five hundred and thirty pipes of oil, which, at the rate of 175 livres (a) the pipe, amounts to 617,750 livres (b), and of two thousand and ninety quintals of whale-bone, which, at the rate of 150 livres (c) the quintal, amount to 313,500 livres (d). These two sums added together, amount to 931,250 livres (e). The monopolizers give to government 300,000 livres (f). Their expences do not exceed 268,750 livres (g), and their profits amount to 362,500 livres (h).

THIS branch of industry must be entirely given up, unless it be immediately put upon a different footing. Nothing but an unlimited freedom of trade can possibly sustain the competition of the American traders, whose activity hath already extended itself as far as those distant seas, and still beyond them. The court of Lisbon ought even to encourage, by all possible means, the whale-fishery in the Cape de Verd Islands, and in the other islands near the burning shores of Africa, which are at present so useless to them.

THOUGH most of the countries of Brazil furnish a small quantity of tobacco, it may be said, that this article hath not become an object of consequence any where, except at Bahia. It

(a) 71 53 10d

(c) 61 54

(e) 28 8021 11 8d

(g) 11 1581 2s 4d

(b) 25 7,01 1s 8d.

(d) 13 0621 10s

(f) 12 5001

(h) 15 1541 3s 4d

threes

thrives in a space of ninety leagues, and in the district of Cachoeira still better than in any other place. This production had for a long time been enriching the province, when the taxes with which it was loaded, on it's exportation from Portugal, raised it's price so high as to prevent the consumption of it. There was so little demand for it in foreign markets, that in 1773, the cargoes of it did not exceed eight-and-twenty thousand quintals. The year following, the duties, which amounted to 27 livres 12 sols (a) per hundred weight, were suppressed, and this cultivation immediately recovered it's former prosperity. The colonist then received for this commodity 22 livres 16 sols (b) per quintal, instead of 12 livres 10 sols (c), which he received before.

TEN thousand quintals of inferior tobacco are sent annually from the Brazils to the coasts of Africa, which being purchased in the colony itself, even at the rate of 18 livres (d) per hundred weight, bring in 180,000 livres (e). Fifty-eight thousand five hundred quintals are sent into Portugal, which, at their first entrance into the country, are sold for 40 livres (f) the hundred weight; the total value of which is 2,340,000 livres (g), and the two sums put together, amount to 2,520,000 livres (h).

EVERY speculator is allowed to purchase the tobacco that is conveyed to the mother-country; but it must be deposited in a public warehouse, where it pays two sols six deniers (i) per quintal to the government for store-room. From this warehouse is taken that quantity of tobacco which the kingdom is not in want of, and which is to be

(a) 11. 3s.
(d) 15s.
(g) 57,500l.

(b) 15s.
(e) 7,500l
(h) 105,000l

(c) 10s. 5d.
(f) 11. 13s. 4d
(i) About five farthings
disposed

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disposed of to foreign nations. Genoa purchases that of the best quality Spain, as well as Portugal, consumes only the second sort, and Hamburgh is satisfied with the most inferior kind of tobacco. It is this which is also purchased by the French, and other navigators, who are in want of it for their Negro trade.

THE purchaser freely applies to the merchants in whom he confides, but the court of Madrid, who never have any tobacco bought but for smoking, usually employ only one agent, to whom they pay for it at the rate of nine sols (a) the pound.

PORTUGAL, Madeira, and the Azores, where the tobacco is equally monopolized by the crown, do not consume annually, for smoking, more than seven hundred thousand weight of it, which, at the rate of five livres (b) the pound, must amount to 3,520,000 livres (c), and in snuff, only five hundred and twenty eight thousand pounds, which, at the rate of seven livres ten sols (d) per pound, must produce 3,960,000 livres (e), so that the whole amount of this article is 7,480,000 livres (f). The government, however, does not receive more than 5,481,250 livres (g). The remainder of the sum is expended in the purchase of materials, the expences of preparing the tobacco, and the profits of the people who farm it.

THE snuff which is consumed in Africa, and in the East Indies, is likewise under the yoke of monopoly, but it is the queen's revenue. She receives 450,000 livres (h) for one hundred and fifty quintals, which are annually sent to those

(a) 4d h
(c) 146 666l 13s 4d
(e) 165 000l
(g) 228 385l 8s 4d

(b) 4s 2d
(d) 6s 3d
(f) 311,666l 13s 4d
(h) 18,750l

distant

distant regions; exclusive of the profits which B O O I
 must arise from the sale of the pepper that is sent IX.
 from Goi in exchange.

THE government of Rio Janeiro almost totally State of
 occupies the long coast, which commences at the the go-
 river Doce, and ends at that of Rio Grande of vernment
 St. Peter; and in the inland countries, it is of Rio Ja
neiro.
 bounded only by the enormous chain of moun-
 tains which extends from Una to Minas Geraes.
 It has absorbed the captainships of St. Esprit, of
 Cabofrio, and of the South Paraiba, granted by
 government at different periods, and which have
 fallen in again in several ways to the domains of
 the crown.

THE cultures remained for a long time in a
 languid state, in this spacious and beautiful pro-
 vince: but they daily acquire some importance.
 Tobacco, indeed, is neither better, nor in greater
 plenty, than it was formerly; but for these three
 years past the sugar-canes have multiplied there,
 and more especially in the plains of Guatacazes.
 Twelve modern plantations of excellent Indigo,
 announce a more considerable number, and a
 tolerable quantity of coffee hath been brought
 from thence by the last ships. The southern dis-
 tricts of the colony, as far as Rio Grande, fur-
 nish a great many hides, some flour, and very
 good salt provisions. There are fourteen or fif-
 teen different kinds of wood for dying, which will
 soon be cut down; and seven or eight sorts of
 gums, which will at last be gathered. Two plants
 were discovered at Bahia, about twenty years ago,
 which are known by the names of Curuata, and
 Tocum, and which might be employed for sails
 and cordage. A small shrub, infinitely more fit
 for these purposes, hath been lately discovered on
 the territory of Rio Janeiro, and is very common.
 It is sometimes white, sometimes yellow, and

BOOK sometimes purple, but the first of these colours is
 IX, the best

THERE IS no deficiency of hands for the carrying on the labours. The province reckons forty-six thousand two hundred and seventy one white men, thirty-two thousand one hundred and twenty-six Indians, and fifty-four thousand and ninety-one Negroes.

THE riches that are produced by the labours of these men, either free or slaves, are carried to Rio Janeiro, formerly the capital of all the Brazils, and the place of the Viceroy's residence.

It is one of the finest harbours that is known, though narrow at it's beginning, it widens gradually. Ships of all denominations enter it with ease, from ten, or twelve o'clock in the morning, 'till the evening, and are carried in by a regular and moderate sea breeze. It is spacious, safe, and convenient. It hath an excellent bottom of mud, and five or six fathom of water in every part.

It was first discovered in 1525 by Dias de Solis. Some French Protestants, who were persecuted in their own country, made a small settlement there under the guidance of Villegagnon. This settlement consisted only of fifteen or twenty huts, made of boughs and covered over with grass, after the manner of the savages in those parts. Some small bulwarks that were erected for planting of cannon, occasioned the name of Fort Coligni to be given to it. It was destroyed three years after by Emanuel de Sa, who, in a fertile soil, under a beautiful sky, and at the foot of several mountains, which are disposed in form of an amphitheatre, laid the foundation of a city, which is become famous, since some considerable mines have been discovered in it's neighbourhood.

THIS

THIS city is the grand staple of the riches BOOK
 which flow from the Brazils to Portugal, and the IX
 harbour where the finest fleets destined for the
 supply of that part of the New World put in.
 Beside the treasures that this continual circulation
 must produce, 3,000,000 livres * remain there
 every year for the expences of government, and
 a much larger sum, when the ministry of Lisbon
 think it suitable to their system of politics to have
 men of war built there.

A town, where business is so considerable and
 so constant, must have been successively enlarged
 and peopled. Most of the citizens live in houses
 two stories high, built with freestone, or bricks,
 covered with tolerably fine slate, and ornamented
 with a balcony, surrounded with lattices. It is
 at these balconies that the women, either by
 themselves, or attended by their slaves, make
 their appearance, it is from thence, that they
 cast flowers on the men whom they choose to
 distinguish, and upon those whom they wish to
 invite to the most intimate connection between
 the two sexes. The streets are large, and even,
 terminated by a chapel, where the people sing
 hymns every evening before a saint, magnifi-
 cently habited, and fixed up in a gilded niche,
 well illuminated, and covered with the clearest
 mirror. There is no public edifice worthy of
 attention, except a large aqueduct, which con-
 vey's the water from the neighbouring heights,
 and the mint. The churches are all gloomy,
 low, and overcharged with ornaments, executed
 without taste.

THE morals are the same at Rio Janeiro as at
 Bahia, and in all the mine countries. Similar
 thefts, similar treasons, similar revenges, and
 similar excesses of all kinds prevail, and with
 equal impunity.

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It hath properly been said, that gold was the representative of all kinds of riches; but it might have been added, that it was likewise the representative of happiness and misfortune, of almost all the vices, and of almost all the virtues: for what good or bad action cannot be done by means of gold? It cannot therefore be surprising that nothing should be a check upon us, in our attempts to obtain so important an object! It cannot be surprising, that when obtained, it should become the source of the most fatal abuses, and that these abuses should be multiplied in proportion to the vicinity, and to the abundance of this precious and pernicious metal.

The situation of the city, in twenty two degrees, twenty minutes of southern latitude, placed it at such a distance from the Old World, that it might have been presumed moderate fortifications only would be required for its defence; but as the temptation for attacking it might become greater, in proportion to the increase of its riches, it was thought proper to add to the works. These were already very considerable, when Du Guay Trouin took it in 1711, with such intrepidity and skill, as redounded much to his honour, and was a great addition to the fame he had already acquired. The new fortifications that have since been added to those the French had mastered, have not made the town more impregnable; as it may be attacked on other sides, where the landing is very practicable. If gold can make its way into brazen towers through iron gates, much more will iron break down the gates that defend gold and diamonds. And, indeed, the court of Lisbon has not thought it sufficient to fortify Rio Janeiro.

In the government of Rio Janeiro, we meet with the island of St. Catherine; nine leagues in length,

length, and two in breadth, and separated from the continent by a narrow channel. Though the land be not low, it is not seen at a distance, because it is shaded by the neighbouring mountains on the continent. Navigators find there a perpetual spring, excellent water, great plenty of wood, a variety of delicious fruits, vegetables which are so welcome to sailors, and a pure air, except in the harbour, where the hills intercept the circulation of air, and make it constantly damp and unwholesome.

TOWARDS the year 1654, the court of Lisbon gave Saint Catherine to Francis Dias-Velho, in the same manner as the other countries in Brazil had been ceded. This captain was killed by an English pirate; and his island became the refuge of vagabonds. These adventurers acknowledged, in a vague manner, the authority of Portugal, but did not adopt the exclusive system of that state. They admitted indiscriminately the ships of all nations that were sailing to the South Seas, or to India, and gave them their oxen, their fruits, their pulse, and all their productions, in exchange for arms, brandy, linen, and wearing apparel. Beside their contempt for gold, they shewed an indifference for all the conveniences that nature did not supply them with, which would have done honour to a virtuous people.

THE scum and refuse of civilized bodies may sometimes form a well regulated society. The iniquity of our laws, the unjust distribution of property, the miseries of want, the insolence and impunity of wealth, and the abuse of power, often make rebels and criminals. If we collect together all those unfortunate men, who are banished from society by the too great rigour, and often, the injustice, of the laws; and give them an intrepid, generous, humane, and enlightened

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chief; we shall make these profligate men become honest, tractable, and rational. If their necessities urge them to war, they will become conquerors; and to aggrandize themselves they will violate the rights of nations, though strict observers of their own reciprocal duties: such were the Romans. If, for want of an able leader, they be left to chance and natural events, they will be mischievous, restless, rapacious, unsettled, for ever at war, either among themselves or with their neighbours: such were the Paulists. Lastly, if they can more easily live upon the natural fruits of the earth, or by agriculture and trade, than by plunder; they will contract the virtues proper to their situation, and the mild inclinations that arise from a rational love of ease. Civilized by the happiness and security of an honest and peaceable life, they will respect in others those rights which they themselves enjoy, and will barter the superfluities of their produce, for the conveniences of other nations: such were the people who had taken refuge at St. Catherine's.

THEY lived with freedom and tranquillity, when, towards the year 1738, it was thought proper to give them an administration, to send them troops, and to surround their harbour, which was one of the best in America, with fortifications. These means of defence have drawn upon them, in 1778, the arms of Spain, and have not preserved them from an invasion. Since they are returned under the dominion of their former master, in consequence of the reconciliation between the two crowns, they have acquired the co-chineal, from which they expect great advantages in future.

THE town of St. Paul is thirteen leagues distant from the ocean, in a delightful climate, and in the midst of a country equally favourable for the

the productions of the two hemispheres. It was built about the year 1570, by the malefactors, with which Portugal had infested the coasts of the New World. No sooner did these villains perceive that it was intended to subject them to some system of police, than they abandoned the shores upon which they had been cast by chance, and took refuge on some distant spot, where the power of the laws could not reach them. A situation which a small number of men could defend against a greater number of troops than could be sent against them, inspired them with the boldness of determining to be their own masters; and their ambition was crowned with success. They were recruited and multiplied by other banditti, and by the descendents proceeding from their connections with the women of the country. It is said that all travellers were strictly forbidden to enter this new republic. To obtain an admittance, it was previously necessary to promise to settle there; and candidates were to undergo a severe trial. Those who could not go through that kind of noviciate, or who were suspected of perfidy, were barbarously murdered; as were likewise all who shewed any inclination to quit the settlement.

A pure air, a serene sky, a very temperate climate, though in the 24th degree of South latitude, and a land abounding with corn, sugar, and excellent pasture; all these circumstances conspired to induce the Paulists to lead a life of indolence, ease, and effeminacy; but that restlessness so natural to resolute banditti, that desire of dominion, which is nearly connected with a love of independence, the advances of liberty, which lead men to wish for glory of some kind or other, and to distinguish themselves, perhaps, all these motives combined, prompted them to

BOOK forego an easy life, and to engage in hazardous
 IX. and troublesome excursions.

THEY over-ran all the inland parts of the Brazils, from one extremity to the other. All the Indians who resisted them were put to death; fetters were the portion of cowards; and several of the inhabitants hid themselves in the mountains to avoid slavery, or death. It would be impossible to enumerate the devastations, cruelties, and enormities, of which these atrocious men were guilty. In the midst of these horrors, however, some colonies were forming under a municipal government, which may be considered as the origin of all the settlements Portugal is at present in possession of in those territories. These small republics, detached; in some measure; from the great one, gradually yielded to the intreaties that were made use of, in order that they should be subjected to an authority which they had never entirely disavowed; and, in process of time, the Paulists submitted to the crown in the same manner as the other subjects.

THAT district then became a government; to which were added, the captainships of St. Vincent, and of St. Amaro, which had been given to the two brothers, Alphonso and Peter Lopès de Sousa, their two towns having been destroyed by pirates. This arrangement, for which it is difficult to assign a cause, divides the province of Rio Janeiro in two parts.

THE country of St. Paul does not at present consist of more than eleven thousand and ninety-three white men, thirty-two thousand one hundred and twenty-six Indians, and eighty-seven Negroes, or Mulattoes. It sends nothing to Europe except a small quantity of cotton, and its inland trade is confined to the furnishing of Rio Janeiro with flour and salt provisions. It hath
 been

been found by some, that flax and hemp would succeed very well there; and there is no doubt of it's being as easy and important to grow silk in the country. The plentiful mines of iron and tin, which are found between the rivers Thecê and Mogyassu, in the Cordelcias of Parana-Piacaba, at the distance of four leagues from Sorocoba, might also be worked to great advantage

THE six provinces we have just been speaking of, are situated along the coasts, there are three others, extending from the West to the East, which occupy, in the center of the Brazil, the large plain from which all the rivers spring, that empty themselves into the Paragui, into the Amazon, and into the Ocean. It is the most elevated spot of Portuguese America, and is filled with mountains, running in various directions. Gold is found almost throughout the whole of it, for which reason it is called the mine country

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State of
the three
inland go-
vernments
where the
mine
situated

THE most important of these rich governments is known by the name of Minas Geraes. It reckons thirty five thousand one hundred and twenty-eight white men, twenty six thousand and seventy-five Indians, and one hundred and eight thousand four hundred and six slaves. Its capital is Villa Rica

JOIAS, the capital of which is Villa Boa, contains eight thousand nine hundred and thirty one white men, twenty nine thousand six hundred and twenty two Indians, and thirty-four thousand one hundred and four Negroes

MATTO GRASSO, the only village of which is Villa Bella, hath not yet increased it's population beyond two thousand and thirty-five white men, four thousand three hundred and thirty five Indians, and seven thousand three hundred and fifty-

BOOK fifty-one slaves. It is the most western part of the Portuguese dominions. It is bounded by the Chiquitos, and by the Maxos, who were subjected to Spain by the labours of the Jesuits.

IX.
History of the gold mines found in the Brazils. The manner of working them.

THE knowledge of the gold mines, in this part of the New World, is traced to much more distant periods than is generally thought. As far back as the year 1577, the Paulists discovered some near the mountains of Jaguará; but the unfortunate death of king Sebastian soon occasioned this source of wealth, which at that time had not been of any great advantage either to the state, or to individuals, to be forgotten.

IN the heights of Jacobino, in the district of Rio das Velhas, new mines were again discovered in 1588, and to as little effect. Philip II. being determined to contain by misery, people who bore the Spanish yoke with too much impatience, would not permit them to be worked. If he apparently consented to this, in 1603, it was with a resolution to prevent it, and his base successors adopted his tyrannical policy.

THE fortunate revolution which, in 1640, freed the Portuguese of their fetters, was followed by long, and obstinate wars. During the course of this violent crisis, the attention of the nation was wholly taken up in the defence of its liberty, and the ministry were always engaged in looking out for the resources of which they were continually in want.

THE state of the monarchy began to be searched into, and its improvement to be thought of; when, in 1699, chance offered to some enterprising men great treasures in the province of Minas Geraes. The gifts of bounteous nature were no more disregarded; and, three years after, the court of Lisbon formed the settlements that were

were necessary to secure the Benefit of them SIBI-B O O H
 ra, Rio das Mortes, Cachoira, Paracatu, Do Car- IV
 rio, Rio das Velhas, Rio Doce, and Ouro Preto,
 are the places in that government where gold hath
 been successively found, and where it is still disco-
 vered at this day

THE mines of Goyas were not discovered 'till
 1726, they are situated in the districts of San
 Felix, Meia Ponta, O Fanado, Mocambo, and Na-
 tividade

IN the year 1735, new ones were found in the
 province of Matto Grosso, at St Vincent, at
 Chapada, at St Anne, at Cuiaba, and at
 Araes.

BESIDE these countries, which are called by
 preference the Mine Regions, the mines of Jaco-
 bino, and of Rio das Contas, are worked in the
 government of Bahia, as are also those of Par-
 nagua and Tibogy, in the government of St Paul,
 but neither of them are very abundant

THE extraction of gold is neither very labo-
 rious, nor dangerous, in those parts of the New
 World It is sometimes on the surface of the
 soil, and this is the purest kind and, at other
 times, it is necessary to dig for it to the depth
 of three or four fathoms, but seldom lower A
 layer of sandy earth, known in the country
 by the name of *Silro*, then usually informs the
 miners that it would be useless to search any fur-
 ther Although, in general, the veins that are
 regular, and in the same direction, be the rich-
 est, it hath been observed, that those spaces,
 the surface of which was most spangled with
 crystals, were those which furnished the great-
 est plenty of gold It is found in larger piec-
 es upon the mountains, and barren or stony
 rocks, than in the vallies, or on the borders of
 rivers. But whatever place it may have been
 gathered

BOOK IX. gathered in, it is of three-and-twenty carats and a half on coming out of the mine, unless it be mixed with sulphur, silver, iron, or mercury, a circumstance that is common only at Goyas and Aradés.

EVERY man who discovers a mine, must give notice of it to government. If the vein be thought of little consequence, by persons of the art appointed to examine it, it is always given up to the public. If it be declared to be a rich vein, the government reserve a portion of it to themselves. Another share is given to the commandant, a third to the intendant, and two shares are secured to the discoverer; the rest is divided amongst all the miners of the district, in proportion to their circumstances, which are determined by the number of their slaves. The disputes which this species of property may give rise to, are under the cognizance of the intendant; but an appeal lies from his decrees to the supreme court established at Lisbon, under the title of Council *d'Outremer*.

THE miners are obliged to deliver to the king the fifth part of the gold, which they extract by operations more or less successful. This fifth was formerly considerable, as it exceeded 9,000,000 of livres * annually, from the year 1728 to 1734; but it hath since gradually decreased. At present the annual produce of Minas Geraes amounts only to 18,750,000 livres †; that of Goyas to 4,687,500 livres ‡; that of Matto Grosso to 1,312,500 livres §; and that of Bahia and St. Paul together, only to 1,562,500 livres ¶. This makes, upon the whole, 25,312,500 livres ¶, of which the government receives 5,062,500 li-

* 375,000l

† 195,312l 10s.

‡ 65,104l 3s 4d

† 781,250l.

|| 54,687l. 10s.

¶ 1,054,687l. 10s.

vres *. The duties for the working of the gold ^{B O O K} into specie yield 1,647,500 livres †; and, at the ^{IX.} rate of 2 per Cent. they get 393,000 livres ‡ for the conveyance, which is executed by their ships, of all the gold that belongs to trade; so that upon the 25,312,500 || which the mines produce, the ministry take 7,103,000 livres §. They would even receive something more, if to the amount of about 600,000 livres ¶, were not annually smuggled without paying the two last mentioned taxes.

THE amount of all the metals constantly circulating in the Brazils is not computed at more than 20,000,000 livres **.

THE first political writers who turned their thoughts towards the discoveries made in this region of the New World, did not hesitate to foretel, that the difference of value between gold and silver would be diminished. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them, that though many ounces of silver had always been given for an ounce of gold, because mines of the former had always been more common than of the latter, yet the value of both metals had varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either.

In Japan, the proportion of gold to silver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen or fourteen, as we advance further West.

THE like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to silver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all the mines in the universe was brought to Rome, the

* 210,937l. 10s.

† 16,575l

‡ 295,958l 6s. 8d.

§ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

† 68,645l 16s. 8d.

|| 1,054,687l. 10s.

¶ 25,000l.

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mistress of the world, the most settled proportion was one to ten. It rose as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius. Numberless and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was less than one to twelve.

THE quantity of these metals, which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but still increased the value of gold above silver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in those parts. Spain, that was of course the best judge of the proportion, settled it as one to sixteen in the coin of the kingdom, and this system, with some slight variations, was adopted throughout Europe.

THIS proportion still exists; but we have no reason on that account to contradict those who had foretold that it would alter. If gold hath fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, since the Brazils furnish a great quantity of it, this is owen to particular circumstances, which do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold is now used for setting of jewels, and for gilding, which has prevented the price of it from falling so much, as it would have done if our fashions had not altered. It is this same spirit of luxury that hath always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common.

AT all times men have affected to make a parade of their riches, either because they were originally the reward of strength, and the mark of power; or because they have every where obtained that regard, which is due only to abilities and virtue. A desire of attracting the attention of others, prompts a man to ornament himself with the choicest and most brilliant things nature can supply. The same vanity, in this respect, prevails among the savages as in civilized nations. Of all the

History
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marks up-
on the na-
ture of
that stone.

the substances that represent the splendour of opulence, none is so precious as the diamond; nor hath any been of such value in trade, or so ornamental in society. Our women are sometimes dazzling with them. It should seem as if they were more anxious to appear rich than handsome. Are they not then sensible, that a neck and an arm elegantly turned, are a thousand times more attracting when uncovered, than when they are concealed under jewels? that the weight of their earrings disfigures their ears? that the lustre of the diamond only diminishes that of their eyes? that this expensive dress is rather a satire upon their husbands or their lovers, than an encomium upon their charms? that the Venus de Medicis hath nothing but a plain bracelet? and that he who only admires in a fine woman the brilliancy of her jewels, is a man devoid of taste?

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THERE are diamonds of all colours, and of every shade of the several colours. The diamond hath the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the sapphire, and the green of the emerald. This last is the most scarce and the dearest when it is of a beautiful tint. The rose diamonds, blue and yellow, are the next in value. The yellowish and the blackish are least esteemed. Transparency and clearness are the natural and essential properties of the diamond, to which art hath added the brilliant and sparkling lustre of the several faces.

THE diamond is a crystallized stone, of the form of an octohedron, more or less well shaped. Its surfaces are in the shape of a pyramid, either long or flat; but its solid angles are never so clearly nor so regularly terminated, as they appear in the other crystallized stones, and especially in the rock crystal.

BUT

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BUT this does not prevent it's crystallization; from being regular in the inside. This stone is composed of small layers, exceedingly thin, and so closely joined together as to form a smooth and brilliant surface, even at the parts where they are broken. Notwithstanding this very close connection between the elements of crystallization in the diamond, it can only be polished by finding out the disposition of the layers in their transverse direction, at the point where the extreme end of one layer lies over the other. Without this precaution, the lapidaries would not succeed, and the diamond would not take the polish, as is always the case with those which they call *veiny diamonds*, in which these extremities are not uniform, and in the same direction. The diamond cutters compare the composition of these stones to the arrangement of the fibres of wood in the knotty parts, where they intersect each other in every direction.

THE diamond is superior to any other precious stone, in it's lustre, it's fire, and it's solidity. To these advantages are added those of being more electrical, of receiving a greater quantity of light, when gently warmed by the fire, or exposed to the rays of the sun, and of retaining this light longer than other bodies, when it is afterwards placed in the dark. These properties, and perhaps likewise some imaginary qualities, have induced natural philosophers to think, that the diamond was formed of a more pure substance than any other stone. Several persons have even imagined it contained some of that primitive adamitical earth, which hath been for so long a time the object of so many laborious inquiries and extravagant speculations.

THE hardness of the diamond suggested the idea, of it's being impossible to be destroyed, even
by

by the most intense fire; and this opinion appeared to be very well founded. Notwithstanding this, the analogy upon this point, deduced from other stones, and especially from those that are composed of quartz, which do not undergo any alteration by fire, was never more defective than in this instance.

THERE are no accounts of the diamond having been submitted to the action of fire previous to the year 1694 and 1695, when the celebrated Averani exposed one to the focus of a burning-glass, for the information of his pupil John Gaston de Medicis. The celebrated natural philosophers of those times, who assisted at this experiment, beheld with astonishment that the diamond was exhaled in a vapour, and disappeared entirely, while the ruby, of a less compact texture than the diamond, only grew softer; and while other precious stones, of a still softer texture, did not experience such considerable alterations. This singular experiment was repeated upon several diamonds with equal success; but the intenseness of the fire employed, was a convincing proof that it could not have been done by any other means. These first experiments were buried in oblivion, till the reign of the Emperor Francis I. who repeated them at Vienna; exposing diamonds, and other precious stones, to the most intense fire of a furnace. The result was a confirmation of the fact, that diamonds are destroyed with the greatest ease by fire, while other precious stones, even those of the softest kind, are at most but slightly affected.

THE facts, though well attested, appeared so extraordinary, and were so contrary to the received prejudices, that they sunk again into oblivion. Though recorded by the cotemporary writers,

BOOK writers, they were nevertheless either unknown,
 IX or denied by those who had not been witnesses of
 them.

At length M. Darcet undertook in France, in 1758, to expose the diamond to the same heat as porcelain. After he had satisfied himself of the truth of the experiments made in Germany, he communicated them to the Academy of Sciences, and afterwards repeated them in the midst of Paris, in order that they might be established with all possible authenticity. As this able philosopher hath since varied and combined his experiments, the incontestible result of them, and of those that have been made after him, is, that the diamond evaporates and burns away readily in the fire and in the open air; and that the complete destruction of it, far from requiring the intense heat which it had been exposed to before his time, scarce requires the degree of heat necessary to keep fine silver in fusion.

M. DARCET hath moreover proved, that the diamond can be destroyed, not only in the open air, but likewise in crucibles made of the best baked porcelain, and hermetically sealed, provided the crucibles be put in the fire of large glass-houses, or in the intense fires for making porcelain, and which have been long kept up.

THE most active menstruums, such as alkaline salts in fusion, and the most concentrated minerals, assisted even by the heat of fire, have no effect upon the diamond. It is not affected by their action; it does not mix with any glass in vitrification; it does not unite with any substance that is yet known; and these qualities are equally common to the diamonds of India as to those of Brazil; to the white diamonds, as to those that are black, or coloured; to the perfect diamonds, and

and to the veiny diamonds, which cannot be BOOK
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worked.

SUCH are the particular properties of this substance, which is hitherto unparalleled in nature; that, although it possesses all the external appearances of other stones, it hath not the least affinity to them in the nature of it's composition, that, notwithstanding it's excessive hardness, it is the only one of the species which doth not resist the action of even a moderate fire, but is entirely dissipated by it. Thus it is that Nature, in her three kingdoms, displays an infinite variety of surprising irregularities. Sometimes she seems to confine herself in the chain and scale of beings, to the order of almost imperceptible differences; and sometimes, breaking through every kind of series, she takes a sudden flight, leaving an immense void behind her, and fixes two distant boundaries, the intervals of which it is impossible to fill up. Thus it is that certain vegetables already enjoy some of the advantages of animal life! It is the same thing with gold, with mercury, and with sulphur, compared to other mineral and metallic substances. It is the same, in a word, with man, who leaves all other animals at so great a distance behind him.

THERE are very few diamond mines. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the East-Indies. The oldest is on the river Gouel, that issues from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Solempour, from the name of a village built near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. Very few diamonds have ever been taken out of it, any more than out of the Succadan, a river in the island of Borneo. The chain of mountains that extends from Cape Comorin to Bengal hath yielded much more.

THESE

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THERE IS A GREAT variety in the soil from whence the diamonds are extracted. Several of these mines are six, eight, and sometimes as far as twelve feet deep, in a sandy and stony soil; others are found in a species of ferruginous mineral, where they are fifty fathoms deep. But in all parts this singular stone is insulated, and doth not seem to adhere to any basis or to any rock. It is surrounded on all sides by a thin pellicle, rather opaque, and of the nature of the diamond itself. This pellicle is commonly covered over with a crust not very solid, which is formed by the surrounding earth or sand.

THE Europeans, except a few inquisitive travellers, do not frequent the mines of Indostan. They are worked by the natives, who deliver the diamonds to the rich Banyans, who carried them formerly to Madras, but who, since the roads have been made, begin to convey them to Calcutta. The whole of this branch of commerce is almost entirely fallen, for a considerable time past, into the hands of a few Englishmen, who trade on their own account. They sort the stones of different weight, and of different qualities, and put them into proper bags, which are sealed up, and sold in London with their invoice. Reckoning the six last years as one common year, the united value of all these diamonds hath amounted annually to 3,420,000 livres*. To this estimate, which only comprehends what is registered, must be added what hath been concealed, in order to avoid the duty of two and three quarters per cent which must be paid to the India Company.

AMONG these diamonds, there was one found of an irregular shape, and which weighed 193 carats when cut. It was the property of an American, who refused to cede it to the Empress of

* 142 500l

Russia for the sum of 2,500,000 livres*, beside a BOOK
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 life annuity of 25,000 livres†. This merchant met with no purchaser, and thought himself very fortunate when Count Orloff, some time after, renewed the offer of 2,500,000 ‡, but without the annuity. In 1772, Catherine condescended to accept, on her festival day, this valuable present from the hands of her favourite.

It was to be feared, that the revolutions which so frequently subvert Indostan would occasion a scarcity of diamonds, but this apprehension was removed, by a discovery which was made in 1728, at Brazil, upon some branches of the river das Caravelas, and at Serro de Frio, in the province of Minas Geraes.

SOME slaves, condemned to search for gold, used to find some little bright pebbles mixt with it, which they threw away as useless among the sand and gravel. Antonio Rodrigues Barba suspected the value of them, and communicated his idea to Pedro d'Almeida, the governor of the country. Some of these brilliant pebbles were sent to the court of Lisbon, who, in 1730, commissioned d'Acunha, their minister in Holland, to have them examined. After repeated experiments, the artists pronounced them to be very fine diamonds.

THE Portuguese immediately gathered them with so much diligence, that the Rio Janeiro fleet brought home eleven hundred and forty six ounces. This plenty lessened their price considerably; but the measures taken by an attentive ministry soon made them rise to their original value. They conferred the exclusive right of searching for diamonds on a few wealthy associates, and in order even to restrain the avidity of the company itself, it was stipulated that it should

* 104 1661 13s 4d

† 104 1661 13s 4d

‡ 1,041 13s 4d

and employ no more than six hundred slaves in business. It hath since been permitted to increase their number at pleasure, paying 100 sols a day for every miner.

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To insure the business of the chartered company, the gold mines, which were worked in neighbourhood, were in general shut up; those who had founded their expectations of tune upon this frequently deceitful basis, were compelled to turn their activity into some other channel. The other citizens were suffered to remain upon their estates; but capital punishment were decreed by the law against any person should encroach upon the exclusive rights granted to the company. Since the sovereign hath ceded to the company, all the citizens are allowed to search for diamonds; but under the restriction of delivering them to the agents of the crown at the price it hath stipulated, and on paying two per cent upon this sum.

The diamonds that are intended to be sent from the New World to the Old, are inclosed in a casket which hath three locks, the keys which are separately put into the hands of the chief members of administration, and those keys are deposited in another casket, which is to be sealed with the viceroy's seal. While the exclusive privilege subsisted, this precious deposit on its arrival in Europe, was remitted to government, who retained, according to a settled regulation, the very scarce diamonds which exceed twenty carats, and delivered every year, for profit of the company, to one, or to several contractors united, forty thousand carats, at prices which have successively varied. An engagement was made on one hand to receive that quantity

and on the other, not to distribute any more; and whatever might be the produce of the mines, which necessarily varied, the contract was faithfully adhered to.

At present, the court throws sixty thousand carats of diamonds into trade. These are monopolized by one single merchant, who gives 3,120,000 livres*, at the rate of 25 livres † the carat for them. If the smuggling amounts to a tenth, as well informed persons suppose, the sum of 312,000 livres ‡ must be added to the sum received by government: it will be found that the produce of those mines, the riches of which there is so great a propensity to exaggerate, doth not amount annually to more than 3,432,000 livres §. These rough diamonds are purchased by England and Holland, who furnish them to other nations, more or less well cut.

THE diamonds of Brazil are not found in quarries; most of them are scattered in the rivers, the course of which is more or less frequently altered. It is a question not yet decided, whether they be formed there, or whether they have been carried there by the waters which empty themselves into these rivers. The increase of their quantity in the rainy seasons, and after violent storms, would induce one to believe, that they have been washed away by the torrents which have detached them from the rocks and mountains.

In the East and West Indies, the mines are situated at a small distance from the equator; some of them in the first degrees of northern latitude, and others in the correspondent degrees of southern latitude. The crust which the rough

* 130,000l.
† 13,000l.

‡ 11 os. 10d.
§ 143,000l.

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diamonds are surrounded with, is thicker in the diamonds of Brazil than in those of Indostan; and it is an easy matter; or at least possible, to distinguish them in that primary state. But the most skilful lapidaries are deceived in them, after they have been once cut; they are accordingly of equal value in trade; but this equality is to be understood only of the small diamonds. Most of the American diamonds, beyond four or five carats, have blemishes, which are seldom found in those of Asia; and in that case the difference in the price is prodigious. Some artists are likewise of opinion, that the latter are harder, and more brilliant than the former; but this opinion is not generally received.

SOME very imperfect amethysts and topazes are likewise found in the diamond and gold country, as well as some tolerable fine crysolites. These precious stones were never under the yoke of monopoly; and those who discover them are at liberty to dispose of them in whatever manner they think most suitable to their interest. Their annual exportation, however, does not amount to more than 150,000 livres*, and the duties which government receives from them, at the rate of one per cent, do not exceed 1,500 livres†.

MINES of iron, sulphur, antimony, tin, lead, and quicksilver, are likewise found in these rich countries, and in some other provinces of Brazil; but no care hath been taken to open any of them. Copper only seems to have been refused by nature to this vast and fruitful region of the New Hemisphere.

Present
state of
Brazil.

A COLONY so interesting hath been useful to Portugal in several ways. The increase of the

public revenue, by the Brazils, seems to have been BOOK
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 the kind of advantage which hitherto hath mostly engaged the attention of the government. The obligation to pay for the transportation of the metals, which is reserved for ships of war; the exclusive trade of diamonds, the sale of a great number of monopolies, the overloading of the customs; such are the principal sources of wealth, which even in Europe, an insatiable treasury hath opened to itself.

THESE vexations have been carried still farther in America. A fifth of the profits upon gold and diamonds is required, which amount to 6 or 7,000,000 livres (a). A tenth is demanded upon all kinds of productions, which, though collected without severity, amounts to 2,873,000 livres (b). The inhabitants are obliged to purchase crusades, which do not exceed 160,000 livres (c). A duty is also exacted upon slaves, which amounts to 1,076,650 livres (d). Another for the rebuilding of Lisbon, and for public schools, which amounts to 385,000 livres (e); another from all subaltern officers of justice, which amounts to 153,000 livres (f). Ten per cent. is likewise required upon every import and export, which may yield 4,882,000 livres (g); and 1,124,000 livres (h) are demanded for the liberty of conveying to inland countries the liquors and the commodities that are brought into port. Government hath also reserved to itself the monopoly of salt, soap, mercury, aqua fortis, and cards, which it farms out for 710,320 livres (i).

NOTWITHSTANDING all these taxes, which bring in annually 18,073,970 livres (k) to the

(a) From 250,000*l*. to 291,666*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

(b) 119,708*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

(c) 44,860*l*. 8*s*. 4*d*.

(d) 6,375*l*.

(e) 43,833*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

(f) 753,682*l*. 1*s*. 8*d*.

(g) 6,666*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

(h) 16,041*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

(i) 203,416*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

(k) 29,596*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

BOOK crown, it hath still contracted engagements in the
 IX. Brazils It owes 713,000 livres* to Para,
 517,600 livres† to St. Paul and to Matto-Grosso,
 10,110,000 livres ‡ to Rio Janeiro; in all
 11,344,600 livres §. In the former of these go-
 vernments, the debt hath been occasioned by the
 recent construction of some forts, more or less ne-
 cessary; and in the latter, by the wars which were
 obliged to be carried on against the Guaranis in
 1750, and by those which it hath been requisite
 to sustain against Spain.

ON the other hand, in 1774, the Brazils were in-
 debted to the merchants of the mother-country to
 the amount of 15,165,980 livres||. This was at
 least the opinion of a man who hath attended most
 to this great settlement, and hath acquired the best
 information concerning it.

Foreign
 connecti-
 ons of
 Brazil.

THE colony hath formed some commercial in-
 tercourse with several countries of the globe. For-
 merly the ships which returned from the East In-
 dies to Portugal used to put in there, and to dis-
 pose of part of their cargo. This intercourse
 hath been interrupted in latter times, for reasons
 with which we are unacquainted, but which can-
 not be good ones.

THE Western Coast of Africa, from the Cape
 de Verd Islands to beyond the country of Angola,
 is more than ever frequented by the Brazilian na-
 vigators, and those of Rio Janeiro have begun,
 not long ago, to trade on the northern coast.
 Vessels are employed in these voyages which are
 built in the colony itself, and which are not of
 less than sixty tons burden, not more than one
 hundred and forty. The crew is either entirely

* 29,7081, 6s. 8d.

† 421,350l.

‡ 631,915l. 16s 8d.

§ 21,7911 131. 4d

|| 472,523l

or mostly composed of Negroes and Mulattoes B O O K
 It is for the working of the mines, and for the IX.
 cultivation of the lands, that this great exertion is
 made. It is evident from some very authentic
 memorials which are now before us, that for
 these eight years past, sixteen thousand three hun-
 dred and three slaves have been carried off from
 these unfortunate shores every year. These slaves,
 at the rate of 312 livres *, one with another,
 must have cost 5,161,536 livres †. They have
 been paid for with the gold, the tobacco, the
 rums, and the cottons, which come from Brazil;
 and with the glass manufactures, the mirrors, the
 ribbands, and several kinds of toys brought from
 Europe.

THE connections of the colony with the Portu-
 guese islands are maintained for another purpose.
 It receives annually from Madeira, by means of
 eight or nine small ships, to the amount of
 400,000 livres ‡ in wine, vinegar, and brandy;
 and from the Azores, by means of four or five
 more vessels, to the amount of 610,000 livres §
 in liquors; to which are added, linens, salt pro-
 visions, and flour. The agents of this trade, lade
 themselves, in return, with those productions of
 Brazil, the exclusive property of which the mo-
 ther-country hath not reserved to itself. These
 several branches of trade united, do not carry
 away annually more than to the amount of
 2,271,000 livres ||, of the production of the co-
 lony.

ALMOST all the riches of this vast region of the
 New World, are carried into Portugal. From
 the year 1770 to 1775, they amounted annually

* 131

† 16,666l. 13s 4d

|| 94,625l

+ 215 064l.

§ 55,416l. 13s 4d

BOOK IX to the sum of 56,949,290 livres* Gold, diamonds, four hundred and forty three thousand quintals of sugar, fifty eight thousand five hundred quintals of tobacco, four thousand five hundred quintals of cotton, twenty thousand quintals of wood for dying, one hundred fourteen thousand and twenty hides, together with some other objects of less importance, made up this great sum

AFTER the period we have been speaking of, a few variations took place We are not sufficiently acquainted with them to ascertain them with precision, but we know to a certainty, that the mother country hath received every year from Rio Janeiro, a small quantity of coffee and of indigo, together with one thousand quintals of sugar, more than it received formerly We know to a certainty, that it hath received from Para, and from Maragnan, every year, three hundred and twenty one quintals of rice, and one hundred and ninety two quintals of cotton more than were formerly sent, and we also know, that there hath been an annual diminution of four thousand hides, and of 965,000 livres † in the gold, among the several remittances that have been made

THE colony is paid with merchandise, which have not cost originally above fifteen or sixteen millions of livres ‡ The duties received by the sovereign himself, several monopolies, exorbitant taxes, the dearness of freighting, and the profits of the trade, absorb the remainder

PORTUGAL did not formerly send from it's own country to it's colonies any thing beside liquors; but since the industry of the province is, in some

* = 372 8871 12 8d † 40 2081 61 8d
‡ From 625 000l to 666,666l 13s 4d

degree, revived, it furnishes one half of the con-
 sumptions made in the part of the New Hemi-
 sphere that is under it's dominion.

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It is with two-thirds of the productions of Brazil, which are sold to foreigners; it is with the gold and the diamonds which come from these regions; it is with the wines, the woollen cloths, the salt, and the fruits of the mother-country itself, that Portugal is enabled to pay sixty millions* for the merchandise which they annually receive from the several countries of Europe. The share which the several nations have taken in this trade hath experienced great variations. At this present time, England is in possession of fourteen parts of it, Italy of eight, Holland of seven, Hamburgh of six, France of five, Sweden of four, Denmark of four, Spain of two, and Russia of one only. The spoils of this nation have not always been thus divided.

THE first conquests of the Portuguese in Africa and Asia, did not stifle the seeds of their industry. Though Lisbon was become the general warehouse for India goods, her own silk and woollen manufactures were still maintained, and were sufficient for the consumption of the mother-country and of Brazil. The national activity extended to every thing, and made some amends for the deficiency of population, which was becoming daily more considerable. Amidst the various calamities that Spanish tyranny oppressed the kingdom with, the Portuguese could not complain of a cessation of labour at home; nor was the number of manufactures much lessened at the time when they recovered their liberty.

THE happy revolution that placed the Duke of Braganza upon the throne, was the period of this

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decay. A spirit of enthusiasm seized upon the people. Some of them crossed the seas, in order to defend distant possessions against an enemy who was imagined to be more formidable than he really was. The rest took up arms to cover the frontiers. The interest of the whole nation prevailed over private views, and every patriot was solicitous only for his country. It might naturally be expected, that when the first enthusiasm was past, every one would resume his usual employment; but, unfortunately, the cruel war which followed that great event, was attended with such devastations in an open country, that the people chose rather to forego their labours, than to expose themselves to see the fruits of them continually destroyed. The ministry encouraged this spirit of indolence by measures which cannot be too severely censured.

THEIR situation put them under a necessity of forming alliances. Political reasons secured to them all the enemies of Spain. The advantages they must necessarily reap from the diversions made in Portugal, could not fail of attaching them to it's interest. If the new court had formed such extensive views, as from the nature of their enterprize it might be presumed they had, they would have known that they had no need to make any sacrifices in order to acquire friends. By an ill-judged precipitation they ruined their affairs. They gave up their trade to other powers, who were almost as much interested in their preservation as they were themselves. This infatuation made those powers imagine they might venture anything, and then availing themselves promptly of the opportunity, they encroached upon the privileges that had been so improperly lavished upon them. The industry of the Portuguese was destroyed by this competition,

on, but was again revived, 'in some degree,' by an error of the French ministry. BOOK IX.

This crown had, for a considerable time past, been in possession of some islands in America. The shackles with which they had been restrained had 'till then impeded their fertility. The cultures would speedily and infallibly have been improved by a well digested plan of liberty. The crown chose rather to secure to the monopoly, to which they were subjected, the exclusive right of supplying the kingdom; and the sugars and tobacco of Brazil, were strictly prohibited there in 1664. The court of Lisbon, irritated, as they had reason to be, with this inconsiderate prohibition, forbade, on their parts, the importation of French manufactures; the only ones, at that period, which were esteemed in Portugal. Genoa immediately seized upon the silk trade, and hath kept it ever since; and England appropriated to itself the woollen trade, though with less uninterrupted success. The Portuguese, instructed by workmen from all quarters, began, in 1681, to manufacture the fleeces of their own flocks. The progress of this manufacture was sufficiently rapid, to enable the government to proscribe several kinds of foreign woollen cloths, and, soon after, to forbid those of all kinds.

GREAT BRITAIN was much chagrined at these arrangements. For a long time, the English strove, with great assiduity, to open the communication afresh, which had been shut against them. Their endeavours were sometimes likely to be attended with success; but they were soon after obliged to give up those hopes, which they had reason to think so well founded. It was impossible to discover in what manner these attempts would end, when a revolution happened in the political system of Europe, which at once overturned all the former ideas.

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A GRANDSON of Lewis XIV. was called to the throne of Spain. All nations were alarmed at this accession of power to the house of Bourbon, which they already thought too formidable, and too ambitious. Portugal, in particular, which had always considered France as a firm friend, now beheld in her an enemy, who must necessarily desire, and perhaps promote, her ruin. This induced her to apply for the *protection* of England, which being accustomed to turn every event to her own commercial advantage, could not fail of availing itself, with warmth, of a circumstance so favourable to it's interest. The English ambassador Methuen, a profound and able negociator, signed a treaty, on the 27th of December 1703, by which the court of Lisbon engaged to permit the importation of all British woollen goods, on the same footing as before the prohibition; upon condition that the Portugal wines should pay a duty one third less than those of France, to the custom-house in England.

The advantages of this stipulation were very certain for one of the parties, but only probable for the other. England obtained an exclusive privilege for her manufactures, as the prohibition remained in full force with regard to those of other nations; but granted nothing on her part, having already settled, for her own interest, what she now artfully represented to her ally as a great favour. Since France had bought no more cloths of the English, they had observed that the high price of French wines was prejudicial to the balance of trade, and had therefore endeavoured to *lessen the consumption, by laying heavier duties upon them.* They have again increased them from the same motive, and still made a merit of it to the court of Lisbon, as being a proof of their friendship.

THE Portuguese manufactures fell, being unable to support the competition of the English. Great Britain clothed her new ally; and as the wine, oil, salt, and fruit she bought, was a trifle in comparison to what she sold, it was necessary that the deficiency should be supplied with the gold of Brazil. The balance inclined more and more in favour of the English, and it was scarce possible that it should not.

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ALL persons who are conversant with the theory of commerce, or have attended to it's revolutions, know that an active, rich, and intelligent nation, which hath once appropriated to itself any considerable branch of trade, will soon engross all the less important branches of it. It hath such great advantages over it's competitors, that it disgusts them, and makes itself master of the countries where it's industry is exerted. Thus it is that Great Britain hath found means to engross all the productions of Portugal and her colonies.

It furnished Portugal with clothing, food, hard ware, materials for building, and all articles of luxury, and returned her own materials manufactured. These useful labours employed a million of English artificers or husbandmen.

It furnished her with ships, and with naval and warlike stores for her settlements in America, and carried on all her navigation in other parts of the world.

It had engrossed the whole money trade of Portugal. Money was borrowed in London at three or three and a half per cent. and negotiated at Lisbon, where it was worth ten. In ten years time, the capital was paid by the interest, and still remained due.

It engrossed all the inland trade. There were English houses settled at Lisbon, which received

B O O K ^{**IX**} all the commodities of their own country, and distributed themⁱ to merchants, who disposed of them in the provinces, mostly for the benefit of their employers. A small profit was the only reward of this industry, which is disgraceful to a nation that worked at home for the benefit of another

It carried off even the agency business. The fleets destined for the Brazils were the sole property of the English. The riches they brought back belonged to them. They would not even suffer them to pass through the hands of the Portuguese, and only borrowed or purchased their name, because they couldⁱ not do without it. These strangers disappeared as soon as they had acquired the fortune they intended, and left that nation impoverished and exhausted, at whose expence they had enriched themselves. It is demonstrable from the registers of the fleets, that in the space of sixty years, that is, from the discovery of the mines to the year 1756, 2,400,000,000 livres * worth of gold had been brought away from Brazil, and yet, in this latter period, all the specie in Portugal amounted to no more than 15 or 20,000 000 †, and at that time the nation owed one hundred million ‡, or more.

BUT what Lisbon was losing, London gained. England, by her natural advantages, was only intended for a secondary power. Though the changes that had successively happened in the religion, government, and industry of the English had improved their condition, increased their strength, and unfolded their genius, they could not possibly act a capital part. They knew by experience that the means which, in ancient

* 100 000 000 † From 625,000 to 833 333 6s 8d
‡ 4 166 666 13s 4d

governments, could raise a nation to any height, BOOK
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 when, without any connection with it's neighbours, it emerged, as it were, singly out of nothing, were insufficient in modern times, when the intercourse of nations, making the advantages of each common to all, left to numbers and strength their natural superiority. Since soldiers, generals, and nations, had hired themselves to engage in war; since the power of gold had opened every cabinet and made every treaty; England had learned that the greatness of a state depended upon it's riches, and that it's political power was estimated in proportion to it's millions. This truth, which must have alarmed the ambition of the English, became favourable to them, as soon as they had prevailed upon Portugal to depend upon them for necessities, and had bound them by treaties to an impossibility of procuring them from any other power. Thus was that kingdom made dependent on a false friend for food and raiment. These were, to borrow the expression of a certain politician, like two anchors which the Britons had fastened upon that empire. They went further still: they made the Portuguese lose all consideration, all weight, all influence in the general system of affairs, by persuading them to have neither forces nor alliances. Trust to us, said the English, for your safety, we will negotiate and fight for you. Thus, without bloodshed or labour, and without experiencing any of the evils that attend upon conquest, they made themselves more effectually masters of Portugal, than the Portuguese were of the mines of Brazil.

ALL things are connected, both in nature and politics. It is scarce possible that a nation should lose it's agriculture and it's industry, without a visible decay of the liberal arts, letters, sciences, and

BOOK and all the sound principles of policy and govern-
IX. *ment.* The kingdom of Portugal furnishes a melancholy instance of this truth. As soon as Great Britain had condemned it to a state of inaction, it is fallen into such barbarism as is scarce credible. The light which had shone all over Europe, did not extend itself to the frontiers of Portugal. That kingdom was even observed to degenerate, and to attract the contempt of those, whose emulation and jealousy it had before excited. The advantage of having tolerable laws, while all other states were involved in horrible confusion; this inestimable advantage has been of no service to the Portuguese. They have lost the turn of their genius, by forgetting the principles of reason, morality, and politics. The efforts they may make to emerge from this state of degeneracy and insatiation, might possibly prove ineffectual; because good reformers are not easily to be found in that nation which stands most in need of them. Men who are qualified to cause revolutions in empires, are generally prepared to it by previous circumstances; and seldom start up at once. They have generally had their fore-runners, who have awakened the minds of the people, disposed them to receive the light, and prepared the necessary means for bringing about great revolutions. As there is no appearance of any such preparatory steps in Portugal, the nation must still continue for a long time in this humiliating condition, unless it will adopt the principles followed, with so much success, by the most enlightened states.

Means
 which the
 court of
 Lisbon
 ought to
 employ to
 extricate

THE first step towards it's recovery, that firm and vigorous one without which all the rest would be unsteady, uncertain, useless, and perhaps dangerous, would be to shake off the yoke of England. Portugal, in her present situation,

cannot

cannot subsist without foreign commodities ; there-fore, it is her interest to promote the greatest competition of sellers she possibly can, in order to reduce the price of what she is obliged to buy. As it is no less the interest of the Portuguese to dispose of the overplus of their own produce and that of the colonies, they ought, for the same reason, to invite as many purchasers as possible to their harbours, to enhance the price and increase the quantity of their exports. These political measures are certainly liable to no objection.

B O O K
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try, and
her colo-
nies, from
their lan-
guid state.

By the treaty of 1703, the Portuguese are only obliged to permit the importation of woollen goods from England, on the terms stipulated before the prohibition. They might grant the same privilege to other nations, without incurring the reproach of having broken their engagement. A liberty granted to one nation, was never interpreted as an exclusive and perpetual privilege, that could deprive the prince who granted it, of his right of extending it to other nations. He must necessarily be the judge of what suits his own kingdom. It is not easy to conceive what rational objection a British ministry could make to a king of Portugal who should tell them, I will encourage merchants to come to my dominions, who will feed and clothe my subjects as cheap and cheaper than you, merchants who will take the produce of my colonies, from whence you will receive nothing but gold.

We may judge of the effect this wise conduct would have, by the events that have taken place, independent of this spirited resolution. It appears from the registers of the customs, that in the space of five years, from 1762 to 1766 inclusively, England, which, till very lately, engrossed the whole trade of Portugal, hath only

B O O K sent there goods to the value of 95,613,547
 1X. livres 10 sous *; and hath received commodities
 to the amount of 37,761,075 livres †; so that the
 balance in money hath been but 57,692,475
 livres ‡.

THE circumstance which deceives all Europe, with regard to the extent of the English trade, is, that all the gold of Brazil is conveyed by the road of the Thames. This seems to be a natural and necessary consequence of the affairs carried on by that nation. But the truth is, that metals are not allowed to go out of Portugal; and, therefore, can only be brought away by men of war, which are not liable to be searched; that Great Britain sends two every week, as regularly as the sea will permit; and that these ships bring the riches of all nations into their island, from whence the merchants, dispersed in the several countries, receive them, either in kind, or in bills of exchange, paying one per cent.

THE British ministry, who are not the dupes of these dazzling appearances, and are but too sensible of the diminution of this most valuable branch of their trade, have, for some time past, taken incredible pains to restore it to it's former state. Their endeavours will never succeed; because, this is one of those events which are not within the reach of political wisdom. If the evil arose from favours granted to rival nations, or if England had been debarred from her former privileges, some well conducted negotiations might occasion a new revolution. But the court of Lisbon hath never varied it's conduct neither with Great Britain nor with other states. Her subjects have had no other inducement to give the preference to the merchandise brought them

* 3,983,897l. 16s. 3d.
 ‡ 2,403,853l. 2s. 6d.

† 1,573,378l. 2s. 6d.

from all parts of Europe, than because those of BOOK
IX. their former friends were so loaded with taxes, that they bore an exorbitant price. The Portuguese will procure many articles at a still more reasonable rate, whenever their government shall establish a perfect equality in their ports between all nations.

THE court of Lisbon, after removing, in some measure, the disadvantages of their trade, which is merely passive, should endeavour to make it active. Their ministers, in conformity with the prevailing taste of the age, have already established some manufactures of silk, of cotton, and of steel. We think that they ought to have begun by resuming the cultures that have been dropped, and by reanimating those that are languid.

THE climate of Portugal is favourable to the production of silk, of which there was formerly great plenty. The baptised Jews made it their business to breed worms, and to prepare the silk, till they were persecuted by the inquisition, which was still more severe and more powerful under the house of Braganza, than it had ever been under the Spanish dominion. Most of the manufacturers fled to the kingdom of Valencia, and those who sold the produce of their labours removed, with their effects, to England and Holland, which improved the activity of both those countries. This dispersion was the ruin of the silk trade in Portugal, so that no trace of it remains at present; but it might be resumed.

THE next cultivation that ought to be attended to, is that of the olive-tree. It is now carried on, and constantly supplies all the oil that is wanted for home consumption, beside a small quantity every year for exportation; but this is not sufficient. It would be an easy matter for Portugal to share, in a more direct manner with other nations,

BOOK IX. on, the profits they derive from this production, which is wholly confined to the southern provinces of Europe.

THEIR wool is likewise capable of improvement. Though it be inferior to that of Spain; the French, the Dutch, and even the English, buy up twelve or thirteen thousand quintals of it every year, and would purchase a greater quantity if it were brought to market. Those who have travelled through Portugal, with that spirit of observation which enables men to form a right judgment of things, are of opinion that double the quantity might be obtained, without injuring the other branches of industry; and that, on the contrary, it might tend to their improvement.

THE trade of salt seems to have been more closely attended to. The North annually takes off a hundred and fifty thousand tons, which may cost 1,500,000 *. It is corrosive, and takes off from the weight and flavour of our food; but hath the advantage of preserving fish and meat longer than French salt. This property will occasion a greater demand for it, in proportion as the navigation of the country is extended.

THE Portuguese found a greater vent for their wines, than might have been expected from their flavour and quality. Particular circumstances had rendered them most commonly used in the North of Europe, and of America. It was impossible to foresee, that the court of Lisbon itself would put a stop to the sale of them. The order for rooting up the vines in Portugal, could only be dictated by private interest. The pretence for so extraordinary a law is so absurd, that no one has given credit to it. It is very well known that the

* 62,500l.

ground where the vines have stood, can never be fit BOOK
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for the culture of corn.

BUT if this were ever so practicable, it would still be an unwarrantable infringement of the sacred and unalienable right of property. In a monastery every thing belongs to all: nothing is the property of an individual, but the joint property of the whole community; it is one single animal with twenty, thirty, forty, a thousand, or ten thousand heads. But it is not the same in society. Here every individual hath the disposal of himself and of his property; he possesses a share of the general wealth, which he is absolute master of, and may use, or even abuse, as he thinks proper. A private man must be at liberty to let his ground he fallow, if he chuses it, without the intervention of administration. If government should assume a right to judge of the abuse of property, it would soon take upon itself to judge of the use of it; and then every true idea of liberty and property will be destroyed. If it can require me to employ my own property according to it's fancy; if it should inflict punishments on my disobedience, my negligence, or my folly, and that, under pretence of general and public utility, I am no longer absolute master of my own, I am only an administrator, who is to be directed by the will of another. The man who lives in society, must in this respect be left at liberty to be a bad citizen, because he will soon be severely punished by poverty, and by contempt, which is worse than poverty. He who burns his own corn, or throws his money away, is a fool too rarely to be met with, to make it necessary to bind him by prohibitive laws, which would be injurious in themselves, by their infringement of the universal and sacred idea of property. In every well-regulated constitution,
the

BOOK IX. the business of the magistrate must be confined to what concerns the public safety, inward tranquillity, the conduct of the army, and the observance of the laws. Wherever authority is extended beyond this, we may affirm that the people are exposed to oppression. If we take a survey of all ages and nations, that great and sublime idea of public utility will present itself to our imagination under the symbolical figure of a Hercules, crushing one part of the people with his club, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the other part, who are not sensible that they are soon to fall under the same strokes.

To return to Portugal: that country stands in need of other measures than have hitherto been pursued, to restore the culture of corn; it is in so languid a state, that the Portuguese annually import three-fourths of the corn they consume. They never, perhaps, will be able to gather their whole subsistence from a soil which is not sufficiently well watered; but it behoves them to lessen, as much as they possibly can, their dependence upon foreign succours. The population is sufficient to carry on the labours with spirit, since, by allowing four persons and a half to each fire side, it amounts to one million nine hundred and sixty thousand souls, exclusive of the monks.

THE court of Lisbon would lie under a fatal mistake, if they should imagine that time alone will bring about so great a revolution. It behoves them to pave the way for it, by a complete reformation of the taxes, which have never been well regulated since the foundation of the monarchy, and the confusion of which increases every year. When the impediments are removed, every kind of encouragement must be given. One of the most fatal prejudices, and most destructive of the happiness of men, and the prosperity

rity of nations, is that which supposes that men only are wanting for the purposes of agriculture. The experience of all ages hath shewn, that much cannot be required of the earth, 'till much hath been bestowed upon it. There are in all Portugal very few farmers who are able to advance the necessary sums. Government should, therefore, assist them. A revenue of 46,884,531 livres *, properly dispensed, would facilitate this liberality, which is frequently more economical than the most sordid avarice.

THIS first change will be productive of others. The arts necessary to agriculture will infallibly rise and grow up with it. Industry will extend it's several branches, and Portugal will no longer exhibit an instance of a savage people in the midst of civilized nations. The citizen will no longer be forced to devote himself to celibacy, or to leave his country in search of employment. Commodious houses will be erected upon ruins, and manufactures supply the place of convents. The subjects of this almost ruined state, which now resemble those scattered and solitary shrubs that are found upon the soil of the richest mines, will no longer be reduced to those necessities they now experience, no withstanding their mountains and rivers of gold. The wealth of the state will be kept in constant circulation, and will no longer be buried in the churches. Superstition will be banished, together with ignorance, despair, and indolence. Those who have no other object in view, but to commit excesses, and expiate them, who are fond of miracles and magic arts, will then be inflamed with public spirit. The nation, freed from it's fetters, and restored to it's natural activi-

* 1,953,523l 2s 6d

BOOK IX. Kty, will exert itself with a spirit worthy of it's former exploits.

PORTUGAL will recollect, that she was indebted to her navy for her opulence, her glory, and her strength, and will attend to the means of restoring it. It will no longer be reduced to seventeen men of war, to twenty-five warlike ships of smaller rates, and about a hundred merchantmen, from six to eight hundred tons burden, which are still in a more ruinous state. Her population, reduced to one million nine hundred and sixty thousand souls, will increase and fill her harbours and roads with active fleets. The revival of her navy will be doubtless difficult for a power, whose flag is not known on any of the European seas, and which, for a century past, has given up her navigation to any power that would attend to it; but every obstacle will be surmounted by a wise and prudent government. When once it carries on all the navigation that should belong to it, considerable sums will be retained in the kingdom, which are now constantly expended for freight.

THIS change will extend it's influence to the islands that are dependent on the crown. Madeira, the annual exports of which amount to 4,658,800 livres*, will extend it's labour, it's prosperity, and it's riches. The Azores will be still more improved. We know that this Archipelago, consisting of nine islands, of which Terceira is the principal, hath no more than one hundred and forty-two thousand inhabitants; and sells at present to the mother-country, to Brazil, and to North America, it's wines, it's linens, it's corn, and it's cattle, to the amount only of 2,440,000 livres†. Even the Cape de Verd Islands, not-

* 174,116l 13s. 4d.

† 1,101,666l. 13s. 4d.

withstanding the frequent droughts they experience, will be able to multiply their mules, and more especially to cultivate the Perella, that species of grass of the colour of moss, which the North of Europe employs with so much advantage in dying. The government will not confine themselves to the encouragement, in their possessions, of the cultures only that are known there; they will take care to introduce new ones, which the fertility of the soil, and the temperature and variety of the climate, seem incessantly to require.

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THESE new improvements will be principally felt in Brazil, that great colony, which hath never been what it ought.

BEFORE the year 1525, it received only some banished persons, without either morals or fortune.

THE grandees, who at this period obtained provinces there, made it a scene of carnage and destruction. For the space of sixty years, there was a continual struggle between the Portuguese, who wished to enslave all; and the Indians, who refused to bear the chains that were intended for them, or who broke them after they had been obliged to submit to them.

EVEN the labours of a few Brazilians, who were kept under the yoke by a watchful exertion of tyranny, were inconsiderable. Those of the Europeans were nothing, because they would have thought themselves degraded by slavish occupations. The only success that could be expected was from the Negroes; but they did not begin to multiply there till towards the year 1570.

TEN years after this Portugal was enslaved; and we may readily suppose that the Spanish government, which suffered it's own ancient possessions in the other Hemisphere to fall into confusion,

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tion, did not exert itself in improving the colonies of a nation, which, though subdued, still excited it's suspicions.

THE long and bloody wars which Brazil had to sustain against the Dutch, retarded it's progress in every particular.

THIS was also again, impeded, by the revolution which freed Portugal from the yoke of Spain, while it kept the two nations in arms during eighteen years.

WHILE these contests were subsisting, the European nations that had formed settlements in America, began to cultivate there productions, which till that time had been peculiar to Brazil. This competition lowered the price of them; and the colony, discouraged, did not export more than half of what they previously sold. So great a misfortune warned the ministry of the necessity of freeing these commodities from the taxes with which they were laden at their entrance into the mother country. The discovery of the mines occasioned these objects to be neglected, which from that time appeared to be less important than they really were.

GOLD and diamonds, which are articles of value merely by convention, were themselves prejudicial to cultures, which they might have encouraged. The hopes of making a brilliant fortune, by collecting these fugitive and precarious riches, determined a great number of proprietors to abandon their plantations.

THIS fatal illusion began to be dissipated, when the system of monopolizers put a stop to the inclination generally shewn, of resuming a plan which was more safe, and even more lucrative, than that which had at first so much inflamed the imaginations of men.

THE

THE last disputes with Spain were, in a word, BOOK
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a new source of desolation to the colony. The inhabitants were compelled by violence to quit their labours; loans were extorted from them without interest, for which they have not yet been reimbursed; they were exposed to the utmost outrages of the most barbarous despotism.

At present, that these obstacles to every kind of good are most of them removed, the riches which Brazil offers in vain, for three centuries past, are no longer to be rejected. The climate is wholesome in that part of the New World; the harbours are numerous; and the coasts, which are of easy access, are generally fertile. The inland part of the country, which is still more fruitful, and intersected by a great number of navigable rivers, may be cultivated for the wants or for the luxuries of Europe. All the productions peculiar to America thrive there, notwithstanding the havock made by the ants, and without apprehension of seeing them destroyed by those terrible hurricanes, and by those devouring droughts which so frequently lay waste the best islands of this hemisphere. It gives encouragement to labour, from the plenty of provisions, of cattle, and of slaves; nothing is wanting to make it one of the finest establishments upon the face of the globe.

It will become so, when it shall be freed from that number of imposts, and from that multitude of contractors which keep it in a state of humiliation and oppression, when it's activity shall no longer be restrained by numberless monopolies; when the price of the merchandise conveyed to it shall not be doubled by the taxes imposed upon them; when it's productions shall pay no more duties, or shall only pay such as are not more considerable than those of it's competitors, when
it's

BOOK IX. its intercourse with the other national possessions shall have been disencumbered from the shackles which confine it; when the East Indies shall be laid open to it, and when it shall be permitted to draw from it's own produce the money required to carry on this new connection.

THE colony hath hands sufficient to multiply and to extend these labours. At the time of our writing, it reckons one hundred seventy-six thousand and twenty-eight white men; three hundred forty-seven thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight slaves; two hundred seventy-eight thousand three hundred and forty-nine Indians; which together forms a population of eight hundred and two thousand two hundred and thirty-five persons. The number of savages, still wandering about in the Brazils, is computed at two hundred thousand. Perhaps it might not be impossible to induce them to acknowledge the authority of the court of Lisbon; but this would not be attended with much advantage, unless directors, more enlightened than their predecessors, should contrive methods that have escaped the reflection of men for three centuries past.

A MORE certain method of increasing the mass of productions, would be to admit, into the Brazils all foreigners who would undertake the cultivation of them; an infinite number of Americans, English, French, or Dutch, whose plantations are exhausted; and many Europeans, prompted by the ardent desire at present grown so common, of making a rapid fortune, would convey their activity, their industry, and their capitals into the country. These enterprising men would introduce a better spirit into the colony, and would infuse into the degenerate race of the Portuguese Creoles, that kind of animation which they have lost for so long a time.

THIS

THIS order of things might be established with-
 out prejudice to any other interest Two thirds
 of the borders of the great rivers are cultivated
 These virgin lands belong to the crown, whose
 system it hath always been to grant gratuitously
 one league of territory, under the express condi-
 tion of cultivating it in a given time By distri-
 buting these domains to their new subjects, they
 would not spoil their old ones, and they would in-
 crease their cultures as well as the number of their
 defenders

BUT in order to accelerate the advantages of
 this new plan, it would be necessary to efface
 even the slightest vestige of the inquisition, that
 horrible tribunal the very name of which makes
 all people shudder who have not entirely given
 up their reason This would even be a matter of
 little importance, if at the same time the influ-
 ence of the clergy were not also diminished in
 the public deliberations and in the affairs of indi-
 viduals

SOME states have been known to favour the
 corruption of priests, in order to weaken the
 ascendant that superstition gives them over the
 minds of the people That this method is not
 always infallible, appears from what has happened
 in the Brazils, nor is this execrable policy recon-
 cileable with the principles of morality It would
 be more secure and more eligible to open the doors
 of the sanctuary to all the citizens without dis-
 tinction Philip II, when he became master of
 Portugal, enacted, that they should be shut against
 all such whose blood was tainted with any mix-
 ture with Jews, Heretics, or Negroes This
 distinction hath given a dangerous superiority to
 a set of men who were already too powerful It
 hath been abolished in the African settlements,
 and why should it be continued in America? Why,

BOOK after taking from the clergy the authority they
 IV derived from their birth, should they not be
 abridged of the power they assume on account of
 their riches

SOME politicians have asserted that no government ought ever to appoint a fixed income for the clergy, but that their spiritual services should be paid by those who have recourse to them. That this method would excite their zeal and vigilance. That they would grow daily more expert in the care of souls by experience, study, and application. These statesmen have been opposed by philosophers, who maintained that an œconomy, which would tend to increase the activity of the clergy, would be fatal to public tranquillity, and that it was better to lull that ambitious body into idleness, than to give it new strength. It is observed, say they, that churches and religious houses, which have no settled income, are so many repositories of superstition, maintained at the expence of the lower class of people, where saints, miracles, relics, and all the inventions with which imposture hath loaded religion, are made. So that it would be a benefit to society, if the clergy had a stated provision, but so moderate, as to restrain the ambition of the body and the number of it's members. Poverty makes them fanatical, opulence independent, and both concur to render them seditious.

SUCH at least was the opinion of a philosopher, who said to a great monarch. There is a powerful body in your dominions, which hath assumed a power of suspending the labour of your subjects, whenever it thinks proper to call them into it's temples. This body is authorized to speak to them a hundred times a year, and to speak in the name of God. It tells them that the most powerful sovereign is no more in the sight of the Supreme

BOOK IX to neglect it, to consider it as their best guide, or to mistrust it's powers. Fathers obstinately defend the absurdities they were taught in their infancy, their children will be as fond of the leading principles in which they have been trained. They will bring back into Brazil notions of religion, morality, administration, commerce, and agriculture. The mother country will confer places of trust on them alone. They will then exert the talents they have acquired, and the face of the colony will be totally changed. Writers who speak of it, will no longer lament the idleness, the ignorance, the blunders, the superstitions which have been the ground work of it's administration. The history of this colony will no longer be a satire upon it.

Whether the court of Lisbon ought to put a stop to the projects of reformation from the apprehension of a rupture with England

THE fear of incensing Great Britain must not protract these happy alterations one single moment. The motives which, perhaps, have prevented them hitherto are but prejudices, which will be removed upon the slightest examination. There are numberless political errors, which, once adopted, become principles. Such is the prevailing notion at the court of Lisbon, that the state cannot exist or prosper but by means of the English. It is forgotten that the Portuguese monarchy was formed without the help of other nations, that during the whole time of their contests with the Moors, they were supported by no foreign power, that their greatness had been increasing for three centuries successively, when they extended their dominion over Africa and the East and West Indies by their own strength. All these great revolutions were performed by the Portuguese alone. Was it necessary then that this nation should discover a great treasure, and be a proprietor of rich mines, merely to suggest the idea of it's being unable to support it self?

self? Are the Portuguese to be compared to those foolish individuals, whose heads are turned by the embarrassment which their newly acquired riches occasion? BOOK
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No nation ought to submit to be protected. If the people are wise, they will have forces relative to their situation, and will never have more enemies than they are able to withstand. Unless their ambition be unbounded, they have allies, who, for their own sakes, will warmly and faithfully support their interest. This general truth is peculiarly applicable to those states that are possessed of mines. It is the interest of all other nations to be in amity with them, and if there be occasion for it, they will all unite for their preservation. Let Portugal but hold the balance even between all the powers of Europe, and they will form an impenetrable barrier around her. England herself, though deprived of the preference she hath too long enjoyed, will still support a nation whose independence is essential to the balance of power in Europe. All nations would quickly join in common cause, if Spain should ever be so mad for conquest, as to attempt any thing against Portugal. Never would the jealous, restless, and quick-sighted policy of our age suffer all the treasures of the New World to be in the same hands, or that one house should be so powerful in America, as to threaten the liberties of Europe.

This security, however, should not induce the court of Lisbon to neglect the means of their own preservation, as they did when they trusted to the British arms for their defence, or indolently rested on the supineness of their neighbours: when, destitute of land or sea forces, they were accounted as nothing in the political system, which is the greatest disgrace that can befall a nation. If the Portuguese will regain the consequence they have lost,

BOOK IX they must put themselves in such a state, as not to be afraid of war, and even to declare it themselves, if their rights or their safety should require it. It is not always an advantage to a nation to continue in peace, when all the rest are in arms. In the political as in the natural world, a great event will have very extensive effects. The rise or fall of one empire will affect all the rest. Even those which are furthest removed from the seat of war, are sometimes the victims of their moderation or of their weakness. These maxims are directly applicable to Portugal, particularly at this juncture, when the example of her neighbours, the critical situation of her haughty allies, the solicitations of the powers who are jealous of her friendship, in short, every thing calls upon her to rouse, and to exert herself.

If the Portuguese will not at length frequent the seas, where alone they can distinguish themselves, and from whence they must derive their prosperity, if they do not appear with a powerful force at the extremity of Europe, where nature hath so happily placed them, their fate is decided, the monarchy is at an end. They will fall again into the chains they had shaken off for a moment: as a lion that should drop asleep at the door of his den, after he had broken it open. The little circulation there is still within, would but indicate those feeble signs of life, which are the symptoms of approaching death. The few trifling regulations they might make from time to time, respecting the finances, the police, commerce, and the navy, whether at home or for the colonies, would be but weak palliatives, which, by concealing their situation, would make it only the more dangerous.

Is it reasonably to be expected that Portugal
 It cannot be denied that Portugal hath suffered the most favourable opportunity, that could have offered of resuming her former splendour, to escape. They are not politics alone that prepare revolutions

tions. Some destructive phenomenon may change the face of an empire. The earthquake of the first of November, 1755, which overthrew the capital of Portugal, ought to have restored the kingdom. The destruction of a proud city is often the preservation of a whole state, as the opulence of one man may be the ruin of thousands. Stately edifices might be subverted; effects, mostly belonging to foreigners, might be destroyed; idle, debauched, and corrupt men might be buried under heaps of ruins, without affecting the public welfare. The earth, in a transient fit of rage, had only taken what she was able to restore; and the gulphs she opened under one city, were already dug for the foundations of another.

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will improve it's
state and
that of it's
colonies?

BUT we cannot flatter ourselves with the hopes of future improvements, while we do not see a better order of things, a new state, and a new people, a better management rising out of the ruins of Lisbon. The nation that is not improved by a great catastrophe is ruined without resource, or the period of it's restoration is reserved for such distant ages, that it is probable it will sooner be annihilated than it can be regenerated. May Heaven preserve Portugal from this fatal event! May it remove from my mind the presage which cannot be impressed upon it without plunging me into the deepest affliction? But at this instant I cannot conceal from myself, that as much as the great shocks of nature give energy to enlightened minds, so much do they depress those that are vitiated by the habit of ignorance and superstition. Government, which every where takes advantage of the credulity of the people, and which nothing can divert from the settled purpose of extending the boundaries of authority, became more encroaching at the very instant that the nation grew more timorous. Men of bold

B O O K spirits oppressed those that were weak; and the
IX. epocha of that great phænomenon turned out to be
the epocha of accumulated slavery; a melancholy
but common effect of the catastrophies of nature.
They usually make men a prey to the artifices of
those who are ambitious of ruling over them.
Then it is that they take large strides, by repeated
acts of arbitrary power; whether it be that
those who govern, do really believe that the people
were born to obey, or whether they think that,
by extending their own power, they increase the
strength of the public. Those false politicians are
not aware that with such principles, a state is like
an over-strained spring, which will break at last,
and recoil against the hand that bends it. The pre-
sent situation of the continent of South America,
but too plainly evinces the justness of this compa-
rison. Let us now proceed to shew the effects of a
different conduct in the American islands.

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Settlement of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America.

HITHERTO we have been only proceed-
 ing from one scene of horror to another;
 in following the steps of the Spaniards and of the
 Portuguese. Let us now see whether the Eng-
 lish, French, Hollanders, and Danes, whom we
 are going to accompany into the islands, have
 shewn themselves less savage than those who took
 possession of the continent. Will the inhabitants
 of these limited spaces be exposed to the deplorable
 destiny of the Peruvians, of the Mexicans,
 and of the Brazilians? Is it possible that civilized
 men, who have all lived in their country under
 forms of government, if not wise, at least ancient;
 who have all been bred up in places where
 they were instructed with the lessons, and, some-
 times, with the example of virtue; who were all
 brought up in the midst of polished cities, in which
 a rigid exercise of justice must have accustomed
 them to respect their fellow-creatures; is it possi-
 ble that all such men, without exception, should
 pursue a line of conduct equally contrary to
 the principles of humanity, to their interest, to
 their safety, and to the first dawnings of rea-
 son; and that they should continue to become
 more barbarous than the savage? Shall I, for
 ever, be reduced to the necessity of presenting
 none but horrid images? Good God! For what
 an office was I destined? This change of charac-
 ter, in the European who quits his country, is a
 phæno-

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 the conduct of all
 the European nations
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phænomenon of so extraordinary a nature, the imagination is so deeply affected with it, that while it attends to it with astonishment, reflection tortures itself in endeavouring to find out the principle of it, whether it exist in human nature in general, or in the peculiar character of the navigators, or in the circumstances preceding or posterior to the event.

IT is a question which naturally occurs, Whether a man who is freed, by whatsoever cause, from the restraint of the laws, be not more wicked than the man who hath never felt this restraint? Persons who are sufficiently dissatisfied with their lot, sufficiently deprived of resources in their own country, sufficiently poor, or sufficiently ambitious to entertain a contempt for life, and to expose themselves to infinite dangers and labours, upon the precarious hope of making a rapid fortune; do they not carry about with them the fatal seeds of a spirit of depredation, which must unavoidably have manifested itself with inconceivable rapidity and violence, when they came into another climate, far from the effects of public resentment, and when they were no longer awed by the presence of their fellow-citizens, or restrained by shame or fear? Doth not the history of all societies prove to us, that those men on whom nature hath bestowed an extraordinary degree of energy, are most commonly villains? The danger of a long stay, and the necessity of a speedy return, added to the desire of justifying the expences incurred in the enterprise, by a display of the riches of the lately discovered countries, must necessarily have occasioned and accelerated the violent steps taken to acquire the possession of them. Did not the chiefs of the enterprise, and their companions, terrified by the dangers they had undergone, by those which they were

were still to undergo, and by the miseries they had suffered, did they not determine to make themselves amends for their sufferings, like men who were resolved not to expose themselves to them a second time? Did the idea of forming a colony in those distant regions, and of increasing the dominions of their sovereign with them, ever present itself distinctly to the minds of these first adventurers; and did not the New World rather appear to them, as a rich prey that was to be devoured, than as a conquest which they ought to protect? Was not the mischief begun by these atrocious motives, perpetuated, sometimes by the indifference of ministers, and sometimes by the divisions between the European nations; and was it not arrived to the utmost pitch, when times of tranquillity inspired our governments with more rational principles? Had the first deputies, to whom the authority and inspection of those countries had been intrusted; or could they have the knowledge, and the virtue requisite to make themselves beloved by the natives, to conciliate their respect and confidence, and to establish a system of police and laws among them? Did they not, on the contrary, carry along with them, to those distant regions, the same thirst of gold which had laid them waste? Could it be expected, that at the origin of these settlements a plan of administration could be formed, which the experience of several centuries hath not been capable of establishing? Is it possible, even in our days, to rule nations which are separated by immense seas from the mother-country, in the same manner as subjects, who are situated immediately under the eye of the sovereign? Since distant posts are never solicited and filled, unless by indigent, rapacious men, without talents or morals, strangers to all sentiment of honour, and to every idea of equity,

BOOK ^X equity, the refuse of the higher ranks of the state, must we not consider the splendour of the colonies, in after times, as a chimerical notion; and will not the future happiness of these regions be a phenomenon still more surprising, than their first devastation was.

ACCURSED, therefore, be the moment of their discovery! And you, European sovereigns, what motive can excite your jealous ambition for possessions, the misery of which you can only perpetuate? And why do ye not restore them to themselves, if ye despair of making them happy? I have, more than once, ventured, in the course of this work, to point out to you the means of accomplishing this: but, I am much afraid, that my voice hath only exclaimed, and will only exclaim in the desert.

AMERICA contains, between the eighth and the thirty-second degree of northern latitude, the most numerous, extensive, and rich Archipelago the ocean hath yet displayed to the curiosity, the industry, and avidity of the Europeans. The islands that compose it are known, since the discovery of the New World, by the nature of the Caribbees. Those that lie nearest the East, have been called the Windward Islands; the others, the Leeward, on account of the wind's blowing generally from the eastern point in those quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which seems to be attached to the continent near the gulph of Maracaybo; the other, to close the entrance of the gulph of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with some degree of reason, be considered as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, and which have been changed into island, by some revolution that hath laid all the flat country under water.

ALL the islands of the world seem to have been BOOK
detached from the continent by subterraneous X.
fires, or earthquakes.

THE celebrated Atlantica, the very name of which hath been buried in oblivion some thousand years ago, was a large tract of land situated between Africa and America. Several circumstances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France; and Sicily hath evidently been detached from Italy. The Cape de Verd Islands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries, must have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been destroyed. The late observations of English navigators leave us scarce any room to doubt, that all the islands of the South Sea formerly composed one entire continent. New Zealand, the largest of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguished volcanos. 'It's inhabitants are neither beardless nor copper-coloured, as those of America; and though they be separated six hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they speak the same language as the natives of the island of Otaheite, discovered a few years ago.

Is it probable that the American islands have been detached from the neighbouring continent?

INDISPUTABLE monuments evince that such changes have happened, of which the attentive naturalist every where perceives some traces still remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oysters, sea-fish, entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the most distant from the sea, in the bowels, and on the surfaces of mountains; the variableness of the continent, subject to all the changes of the ocean, by which it is constantly beaten, worn away, or subverted: while at a distance, perhaps, on one side it loses immense tracts of land; on the other discovers to us new countries, and long banks

BOOK X. banks of sand heaped up before those cities that formerly were celebrated sea-ports: the horizontal and parallel position of the strata of the earth, and of marine productions, collected and heaped up alternately in the same order, composed of the same materials, that are regularly cemented by the constant and successive exertion of the same cause; the correspondent similarity, observable between such coasts as are separated by an arm of the sea; on one side of which may be perceived salient angles opposite to re-entering angles on the other; on the right-hand, beds of the same kind of sand, or similar petrifications, disposed on a level with similar strata, extending to the left: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the sea as to their common origin: the formation of hills and vallies, on which this immense body of fluid hath, as it were, stamped indelible marks of it's undulations; all these several circumstances attest, that the ocean hath broken it's natural limits, or, perhaps, that it's limits have never been insurmountable; and that varying the surface of the globe, according to the irregularity of it's own motions, it hath alternately taken the earth from it's inhabitants, and restored it to them again. Hence those successive, though never universal, deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it totally invisible to us at once; for the waters, acting at the same time in the cavities and on the surface of the globe, cannot possibly increase the depth of their beds, without diminishing their breadth; or overflow, on one side, without leaving dry land on the other; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole system that can possibly have made all the mountains disappear at once, and occasioned the sea to rise above their summits. What a sudden transformation must

must have forced all the rocks and every solid particle of matter to the center of the earth, to draw out of it's inmost recesses and channels all those fluids which animate it; and thus blending it's several elements together, produce a mass of waters and useless germina floating in the air? Is it not enough that each hemisphere, alternately, becomes a prey to the devastations of the ocean? Such constant shocks as these, have doubtless so long concealed from us the New World, and, perhaps, swallowed up that continent, which, as it is imagined, had been only separated from our own.

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WHATSOEVER may be the secret causes of these particular revolutions, the general cause of which results from the known and universal laws of motion, their effects, however, will be always sensible to every man, who hath the resolution and sagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly evident in regard to the Caribbee Islands, if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent shocks whenever the volcanos of the Cordelirias throw out their contents, or when all Peru is shaken. This Archipelago, as well as that of the East Indies, situated nearly in the same degree of latitude, seems to be produced by the same cause; namely, the motion of the sea from East to West: a motion impressed by that which causes the earth's revolution from West to East; more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth being more elevated, revolves in a larger circle, and in a more agitated zone; where the ocean seems, as it were, willing to break through all the boundaries nature opposes to it, and, opening to itself a free and uninterrupted course, forms the equinoctial line.

THE direction of the Caribbee Islands, beginning from Tobago, is nearly North and N. N. W. This

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This direction is continued from one island to another, forming a line somewhat curved towards the North-west, and ending at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and extending itself in a straight direction to the W. and N. W. meets in it's course with Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, known by the name of the Leeward Islands, which are separated from each other by channels of various breadths. Some of these are six, others fifteen or twenty leagues broad; but the soundings, in all of them, are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Grenada and St. Vincent's there is also a small Archipelago of thirty leagues, in which, sometimes, the soundings are not ten fathom.

THE mountains in the Caribbee Islands run in the same direction as the islands themselves. This direction is so regular, that if we were to consider the tops of these mountains only, independent of their bases, they might be looked upon as a chain of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the most north-westerly promontory.

THE springs of water which flow from the mountains in the Windward Islands, run all in the western part of these islands. The whole eastern coast, that which, according to our conjectures, hath always been covered by the sea, is without any running water. No springs come down there from the mountains; they would, indeed, have been useless, for, after having run over a very short tract of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the sea.

IN Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are a few rivers which discharge themselves into the sea on the northern side, and the sources of which rise in the mountains, running from east to west,

ft, that is, through the whole length of these BOOK
 islands These rivers water a considerable extent X.
 low country, which hath certainly never been
 covered by the sea From the other side of the
 mountains facing the south, where the sea, flow-
 ing with great impetuosity, leaves behind it marks
 of its inundations, several rivers flow into these
 three islands, some of which are considerable enough
 to receive the largest ships

THESE observations, which seem to prove that
 the sea hath separated the Caribbee Islands from
 the continent, are further confirmed by others of
 a different kind, though equally conclusive in
 support of this conjecture. Tobago, Margaretta,
 and Trinidad, islands that are the nearest to the
 continent, produce, as well as the Caribbees, trees
 the wood of which is soft, and wild cocoa This
 particular species is not to be found, at least in
 any quantity, in the northern islands In these the
 only wood we meet with is hard Cuba, situated
 at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds,
 like Florida, from which, perhaps, it hath been
 separated, with cedars and cypresses, both equally
 useful for the building of ships

THE soil of the Caribbees consists mostly of a Nature of
 layer of clay or gravel, of different thickness, un- the soil of
 der which is a bed of stone or rock The nature the Ca-
 of some of these soils is better adapted to vegeta- ribbee
 tion than others In those places where the clay Islands
 is drier and more friable, and mixes with the Vegeta-
 leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is bles found
 formed of greater depth, than where the clay is there be
 moister. The sand or gravel has different proper- fore the
 ties according to its peculiar nature, wherever it invasion
 is less hard, less compact, and less porous, small
 pieces separate themselves from it, which though
 dry, preserve a certain degree of coolness useful
 to vegetation This soil is called in America, a
 pumice-

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 pumice-stone soil. Wherever the clay and gravel do not go through such modifications, the soil becomes barren, 'as soon as the layer, formed by the decomposition of the original plants, is destroyed, from the necessity there is of weeding it, which too frequently exposes it's salts to the heat of the sun. Hence, in those cultures which require less weeding, and where the plant covers with it's leaves the vegetable salts, there the fertility of the ground hath been preserved.

WHEN the Europeans landed at the Caribbee Islands, they found them covered with large trees, connected, as it were, to one another by a species of creeping plant; which, rising up in the same manner as the ivy, wove itself around all the branches, and concealed them from the sight. There was so great a plenty of this plant, and it grew so thick, that it was impossible to penetrate into the woods before it was cut down. From it's great degree of flexibility it was called *Liane*. In these forests, as old as the world itself, there were varieties of trees, which, from a singular partiality of nature, were very lofty, exceeding straight, and without any excrescences or defects. The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves, and the decay of the trunks rotted away by time, formed a moist sediment upon the ground, which being cleared, occasioned a surprising degree of vegetation in those plants that were substituted to the trees that were rooted up

IN whatever soil these trees grew, their roots were scarcely two feet deep, and generally much less: though they extended themselves on the surface, in proportion to the weight they had to support. The excessive dryness of the ground, where the most plentiful rains never penetrate very deep, as they are soon attracted by the sun beams, and the

the

the constant dews that moisten the surface, made the roots of these plants extend themselves horizontally, instead of descending perpendicularly, as they generally do in other climates. BOOK X.

The trees that grew on the tops of mountains and in steep places were very hard. The sharpest cutting instrument could scarcely make any impression upon them. Such were the agouti, the palm-tree, and the barata wood, which have since been usefully employed in building. Such were the courbari, the acajou, the manchineel, and the iron-wood, which have been found fit for joiner's work. Such is the acoma, which being either put into the ground, or exposed to the air, is preserved for a long time without being attacked by the worms, or rotted by the damp. Such the maple, the trunk of which, being four or five feet in diameter, and the stem from forty to fifty feet high, served to make a canoe of one single piece.

The vallies, which are rendered fertile by the mountains, are covered with soft wood. At the foot of these trees, grew promiscuously those plants that the liberality of the soil produced for the subsistence of the natives of the country. Those in most general use were the yam, the Caribbee cabbage, and the battata, the roots of which being tuberosc, like those of the potatoe, might equally afford a wholesome nourishment. Nature, which appears to have established a certain analogy between the characters of people and the provisions intended for their support, had provided the Caribbee Islands with such vegetables as could not bear the heat of the sun, flourished best in moist places, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The islanders did not thwart the free and spontaneous operations of nature, by destroying one of her productions,



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 ductions, to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating salts was entirely left to the mere effect of the soil, nor did the natives pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered, as chance threw in their way, or the season pointed out, such fruits as spontaneously offered themselves for their support. They had observed, that the putrefaction of the weeds was necessary to the reproduction of those plants that were most useful to them.

THE roots of these plants were never unwholesome, but they were insipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unless they were seasoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant somewhat resembling our sorrel, they produced a strong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the savages. The only art they made use of in preparing it, was suffering it to ferment some days in common water, exposed to the heat of the sun.

EXCLUSIVE of this nourishment, the islands also supplied the inhabitants with a great variety of fruits, but very different from our's. The most useful among these was the banana. The root of the banana tree is tuberosc and hairy. Its stem, which is slender and soft, grows to seven feet at its utmost height, and is eight inches in diameter. It is composed of several coats, or concentric sheaths tolerably thick, and each of them terminated by a firm petiole, hollowed in form of a gutter, and which supports a leaf of six feet long, and two feet wide. These leaves, collected in a small number at the bottom of the stem, bend by their own weight, and dry up one after the other. They are thin, very smooth, green on the upper surface, of a paler colour on the under, and furnished with parallel fibres, which

which are very close to each other, are joined at the costa, and give the leaf a satiny appearance. At the end of nine months, the banana tree pushes out from the midst of it's leaves, when they are all unfolded, a sprig of three or four feet long, and two feet in diameter, furnished at intervals with semicircular bands, which each of them supports, a cluster of a dozen or more flowers, covered with a spatha, or membranous inclosure. Each pistil is charged with a stile of six stamina and one calix, with two leaves, one external, lengthened out, and terminated by five indentations; the other internal, shorter, and concave. This pistil, and one of the stamina, are abortive in the flowers at the extremity, the clusters of which are small, close, and concealed under coloured and permanent inclosures. In the other flowers, five of the stamina are found abortive; but the pistil becomes a fleshy fruit, elongated, slightly arched, covered with a yellow and thick pellicle, and filled with a pulpy, yellowish substance, of a sweetish taste, and very nourishing. The assemblage of these fruits, to the number of fifty and upwards, upon the same stem, is called a *regime* of bananas; which is as much as a man can carry. While it is upon the stem, it's weight makes it bend towards the ground. As soon as it is gathered, this stem dries up, and is succeeded by fresh sprigs, which come out of the root, and flower nine months after, or later, when they are transplanted. There is no other way of multiplying the banana tree, which never yields any seed.

This plant exhibits a number of varieties, which consist only in the form, the size, and the goodness of the fruit. It is agreeable to the taste and is eaten raw, or prepared in several ways.

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ONE singular circumstance worthy of remark is, that while the voracious plant, which we have termed Liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it avoided the fertile ones, though promiscuously blended with the former. Nature seemed, as it were, to have prescribed to it, to respect what she had destined for the sustenance of man.

THE islanders were not so plentifully supplied with pot-herbs as with roots and fruits. Purslain and cresses were the only herbs of this kind they had.

THEIR other food was confined within a very narrow compass: they had no tame fowl, and the only quadrupeds that were fit for food, did not amount to more than five sorts; the largest of which did not exceed in size our common rabbits. The birds, more pleasing to the eye, though less varied than in our climates, were valuable almost only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth those melting notes that are so captivating to the ear; most of them were extremely thin, and very insipid to the taste. Fish was nearly as plentiful as in other seas, but generally less wholesome, and less delicate.

THE virtues of the plants that nature had placed in these islands, to cure the very few disorders the inhabitants were subject to, can scarce be exaggerated. Whether they were applied externally, or taken internally, or the juice of them given in infusion, their effects were as speedy as salutary. The invaders of those formerly peaceable regions have employed these simples, which are always green and in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Asia can furnish to the rest of the world.

Is the climate of these islands

THE generality of the inhabitants of these islands consider but two seasons among them, that of drought and that of rain. Nature, whose operations

tions are constant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to them to act always uniformly. But those who attentively observe her progress, discern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions, and the changes of vegetation, she observes the same laws as in Europe, though in a less sensible manner.

THESE almost imperceptible changes, are no preservative against the dangers and inconveniences of such a scorching climate as must be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As these islands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are exposed, allowing for the varieties resulting from difference of situation and of soil, to a perpetual heat, which generally increases from the rising of the sun till an hour after noon, and then decreases in proportion as the sun declines. A covered sky, that might serve to alleviate this heat, is seldom seen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two, but the sun is never hid for four days during the whole year.

THE variations in the temperature of the air depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of the seasons. In those places where the wind doth not blow, the air is excessively hot, and none but the easterly winds contribute to temperate and refresh it, those that blow from the south and west afford little relief, but they are much less frequent and less regular than that which comes from the east. The branches of the trees exposed to it's influence, are forced round towards the west, in that direction which they seemed to be thrown into, by the constant and uniform course of the wind. But their roots are stronger and more extended under ground towards the east, in order to afford them, as it were, a fixed point, the resistance of which may counteract the power of the ruling wind. Accordingly, it hath been observed, that when-

**B O O K** <sup>X.</sup> ever the westerly wind blows with any violence, the trees are easily thrown down, in order therefore to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be considered.

THE easterly wind depends upon two invariable causes, the probability of which is very striking. The first arises from the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east, and which must necessarily be more rapid under the equinoctial than under the parallels of latitude, because a greater space must be passed over in the same time. The second is owing to the heat of the sun, which, as soon as it rises above the horizon, rarefies the air, and causes it to blow towards the west, in proportion as the earth revolves towards the east.

THE easterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbee Islands is scarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock in the morning, increases in proportion as the sun rises above the horizon; and decreases as it declines. Towards the evening it ceases entirely to blow on the coasts, but not on the open sea. The reasons of this difference are very evident. After the setting of the sun, the air from the land, that continues for a considerable time rarefied, on account of the vapours which are constantly rising from the heated globe, necessarily flows back upon the air of the sea: this is what is generally called a land breeze. It is most sensibly felt in the night, and continues till the air of the sea, rarefied by the heat of the sun, flows back again towards the land, where the air hath been condensed by the coolness of the night. It hath also been observed, that the easterly wind blows more regularly and with greater force in the dog days, than at any other times of the year, because the sun then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus nature causes the excessive heat of the sun to contribute

bute to the refreshment of those climates that are parched up by it's rays. It is thus, that in fire-engines art makes the fire instrumental in supplying constantly with fresh water the copper vessels from which it is exhausted by evaporation. . .

THE rain contributes also to the temperature of the American islands, though not equally in them all. In those places where the easterly wind meets with nothing to oppose it's progress, it dispels the clouds as they begin to rise, and compels them to break, either in the woods or upon the mountains. But whenever the storms are too violent, or the blowing of the easterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the southern and westerly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee Islands, where this wind doth not generally blow, the rains are so frequent and plentiful, especially in the winter season, which lasts from the middle of July to the middle of October; that, according to the most accurate observations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the space of a year. Instead of those mild and refreshing showers which we sometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in these climates are torrents, the sound of which might be mistaken for that of hail, if this were not almost unknown under so burning a sky.

THESE showers, it must be allowed, refresh the air; but they occasion a dampness, the effects of which are no less disagreeable than fatal. The dead must be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep sweet above four and twenty hours. The fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread must be made up into biscuits, to prevent it's growing mouldy. Common wines soon turn sour; and iron grows rusty in a day's time. The seeds

BOOK can only be preserved by constant attention and  
 X. care, till the proper season returns for sowing them. When the Caribbee Islands were first discovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the support of those who could not accustom themselves to the food of the natives of the country, was so soon damaged, that it became necessary to send it in the ears. This necessary precaution enhanced the price of it so much, that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then substituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of transport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was sooner damaged. It was imagined by a merchant, that if the flour were entirely separated from the bran, which contributes to it's fermentation, it would have the double advantage of cheapness and of keeping longer. He caused it therefore to be sifted, and put the finest flour into strong casks, and beat it close together with iron hammers, till it became so hard a body, that the air could scarce penetrate it. Experience justified so sensible a contrivance; the practice of it hath become general, and been considerably improved ever since.

It was thought that nothing more remained to be done, when M. du Hamel proposed another precaution, that of drying the flour in stoves, before it was embarked. This idea attracted the attention of the French ministry. Flour prepared in the new way, and some according to the former mode, was sent to the other hemisphere. Upon their return, the first had lost nothing, and the last was half rotten and deprived of it's glutinous property. The same result hath attended all the experiments. It is pleasing to hope, that a discovery so useful will not be lost, for the nations that have formed settlements to the south of America. If it doth not secure

to the provisions, the same degree of duration, BOOK  
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that they have in our dry and temperate climates, they will not at least be corrupted so soon, and will be preserved for a longer time.

HOWEVER troublesome these natural effects of the rain may be, it is attended with some still more formidable; such as frequent and sometimes dreadful earthquakes in the islands. As they generally happen during the time, or towards the end of the rainy season, and when the tides are highest, some ingenious naturalists have, therefore, supposed that they might be owing to these two causes. Ordinary  
phenomenon in the  
islands.

THE waters of the sky and of the sea, undermine, dig up, and ravage the earth in several ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts it's fury upon this globe with a violence that can neither be foreseen nor prevented. Among the various shocks to which it is constantly exposed, from this restless and boisterous element, there is one, which at the Caribbee islands is distinguished by the name of *raz de marée*, or whirlpool. It constantly happens once, twice, or three times, from July to October, and always on the western coasts; because it takes place after the time of the westerly and southerly winds, or while they blow. The waves, which at a distance seem to advance gently within four or five hundred yards, suddenly swell against the shore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by some superior force, and break with the greatest impetuosity. The ships, which are then upon the coast, or in the roads beyond it, unable either to put to sea, or keep their anchors, are dashed to pieces against the land, leaving the unhappy sailors entirely without hopes of escaping that certain death, the approaches of which they have been expecting for several hours.



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So extraordinary a motion of the sea hath been hitherto considered as the consequence of a storm. But a storm follows the direction of the wind, from one point of the compass to another; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an island that is sheltered by another island, where the shock is not at all perceived. This observation hath induced Mr. Dutasta, who has travelled through Africa, and America, as a natural philosopher, a merchant, and a statesman, to seek for a more probable cause of this singular phenomenon. He hath not only discovered this, but also several other truths that may be useful to many of the sciences; if he should ever make them public. We shall then, probably, acquire more certain information concerning hurricanes.

The hurricane is a violent wind generally accompanied with rain, lightning and thunder, sometimes with earthquakes; and always attended with the most melancholy and fatal consequences that the wind can produce. The day which, in the torrid zone, is usually bright and clear, is suddenly changed into a dark and universal night; the appearance of a perpetual spring, into the dreariness and horror of the most gloomy winter. Trees, as ancient as the world itself, are torn up by the roots, and instantly disappear. The strongest and the most solid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itself with the prospect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be seen but plantations entirely destroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy sufferers, deprived of their whole support, weep over the carcases of the dead, or search among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noise of the waters, of the woods, of the thunder, and of the winds, that break against the shattered rocks; the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiscuously

iously involved in a whirlwind of sand, stones, BOOK  
 and ruins of buildings: all together seem to por- X.  
 end the last struggles of expiring nature.

THESE hurricanes, however, contribute to produce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether these violent concussions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain substances fit to promote the vegetation of plants, is not easily determined; but it hath been observed, that this seeming and temporary confusion was not only a consequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even dissolution itself instrumental to regeneration, but also the means of preserving the general system, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, the source of partial evil and of general good.

THE first inhabitants of the Caribbee Islands imagined that they had discovered infallible prognostics of this alarming phenomenon. They observed, that, when it was near at hand, the air was misty, the sun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth, and in the reservoirs of water, a dull sound was heard, like that arising from pent up winds. The stars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The sky, in the north west, was overspread with dark and black clouds, that seemed very alarming. The sea sent forth a strong and disagreeable smell, and, in the midst of a calm, was suddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from east to west, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

THOUGH the truth of all these observations cannot be ascertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas, and even prejudices of savage nations on times

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times and seasons, would be a seeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philosophical inquiries. The want of employment of these people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity, and put them under a necessity, of observing the smallest alterations in the air, and of acquiring such informations on this point, as have escaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed, and more devoted to works of a sedentary nature. Possibly we must be indebted to the man who dwells in the forests for the discovery of effects, and to the learned man for the investigation of causes. Let us trace, if possible, the cause of hurricanes, a phænomenon so frequent in America, that this alone would have been sufficient to make it be deserted, or render it uninhabitable many ages ago.

No hurricanes come from the east, that is, from the greatest extent of the sea at the Caribbee Islands. As this is an acknowledged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The west wind which blows constantly, and sometimes very violently in the southern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the same time in the northern parts, must, when they meet, oppose each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this shock happens in the long and narrow passes of the mountains, it must occasion a strong current of air, that will extend itself in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow pass of the mountain. Every solid body that meets this current of air, will be impressed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of surface it opposes to the current; so that if the position of that surface should be perpendicular to the direction of the hurri-

hurricane, it is impossible to determine what effect BOOK  
X. might be produced upon the whole mass. Fortunately, the different bearings of the coast of these islands, and their angular or spherical figure, occasion these dreadful hurricanes to fall upon surfaces more or less oblique, which divert the current of air, break its force, and gradually destroy its effects. Experience also proves, that their action is by degrees so much weakened, that even in the direction, where the hurricane falls with most force, it is scarce felt at ten leagues distance. The most accurate observers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have successively subverted the islands, came from the north-west, and consequently from the narrow passes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The distance of some islands from this direction, is not a sufficient reason for rejecting this opinion; as several causes may contribute to divert a current of air to the south or east. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that those persons have been in an error, who have asserted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compass the wind came from. Such are the destructive phænomena Nature hath opposed to the acquisition of the riches of the New World: but what barrier could restrain the daring spirit of the navigator who discovered it?

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS having first formed a settlement at St. Domingo, one of the Greater Antilles, discovered the Lefs. The islanders he had to encounter there, were not so weak and cowardly as those he had at first subdued. The Caribs, who thought they originally came from Guiana, were of moderate stature, thick set and strong, and such as seemed adapted to form men of superior strength, if their manner of life and exercises had seconded these natural appearances. Their legs thick and muscular,

*Customs of  
the Caribs,  
the ancient  
inhabit-  
ants of the  
Wind-  
ward Is-  
lands.*

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muscular, were generally well made; their eyes black, large, and somewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleasing, had they not spoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable among themselves. The eye brows and the head were the only parts of the body on which they suffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chastity. In order to guard against the bite of insects, they painted all their bodies over with the juice of the rocou, or arnotto, which gave them the appearance of a boiled lobster.

THEIR religion consisted only in some confused belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion so natural to man, that we find it diffused among the most savage nations, and preserved even among many civilized people. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greatest dread of the evil principle. Their other superstitions were more absurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not contribute to render them more ready to embrace Christianity when it was proposed to them. Without entering into dispute with those who expounded the doctrines, they contented themselves with rejecting the belief of them, *for fear, as they said, that their neighbours should laugh at them.*

THOUGH the Caribs had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquillity they enjoyed, was entirely owen to that innate principle of compassion which precedes all reflection, and is the source of all social virtues. This humane spirit of benevolence arises from the very frame and nature of man, whose self-love alone is sufficient to make him abhor the sufferings of his fellow-

fellow creatures. To infuse, therefore, a spirit of BOOK  
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humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be necessary to make them the executioners of those victims they sacrifice to their pride, and of those cruelties they order to be practised upon others. The hands of those voluptuaries should be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their seraglios; they should be forced to attend the field of battle; they should there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witnesses of the agonies and convulsions of their dying soldiers; they should next attend the hospitals, and at leisure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the diseases occasioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholesome, by cruel services and taxes, and by the other calamities which arise from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would scenes like these, occasionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to lessen the crimes and sufferings of the human race! What benefits would not the people derive, from the compassionate emotions of their sovereigns?

Among the Caribs, whose hearts were not depraved by the pernicious institutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treason, nor massacres, so common among civilized nations, were known. Religion, the laws, and penal punishments, those barriers raised to protect old customs from the incroachments of new ones, were useless to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never heard of among these savages, before the Europeans came among them. When they discovered any thing missing, they observed, *that the Christians had been with them.*

THESE islanders were little acquainted with the strongest passions of the soul, not even with that of love. This passion was with them merely a  
sensual.

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sensual appetite. They never shewed the least marks of attention or tenderness for that sex, so much courted in other countries. They considered their wives rather in the light of slaves than of companions; they did not even suffer them to eat with them, and hath usurped the right of divorcing them, without granting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themselves born to obey, and submitted patiently to their fate.

In other respects, a taste for power had little influence on the minds of the Caribs; as they had no distinction of ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality, and were extremely surprised to find degrees of subordination established among the Europeans. This system was so repugnant to their ideas, that they considered those as slaves, who had the weakness to receive the commands of a superior, and obey them. The subjection of the women among them, was a natural consequence of the weakness of the sex. But in what manner, and for what reason, the stronger men submitted themselves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem, that neither war, treachery, nor superstition, had been able to resolve.

The manners of a people, neither influenced by interest, vanity, or ambition, must be very simple. Every family formed within itself a republic, distinct in some degree from the rest of the nation. They composed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or less consequence, in proportion to the space of ground it occupied. The chief, or patriarch of the family, lived in the center, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of such of his descendants as were married. The columns that supported these huts were stakes; the roofs were thatched; and the whole furni-

furniture consisted of some weapons, cotton beds BOOK  
 made very plain and simple, some baskets, and X.  
 utensils made of calabashes.

In these huts the Caribs spent the greatest part of their life, either in sleeping or smoking. When they went out, they retired into some corner, and sat upon the ground, seemingly absorbed in the most profound contemplation. Whenever they spoke, which was not very often, they were heard without interruption, or contradiction, and without any answer, but the sign of a tacit approbation.

THEY were not much troubled in providing for their sustenance. Savages, who spent their life in the condensed air of the forest, who had the custom of covering themselves with a layer of rocou, which closed up the pores of the skin; who spent their days in idleness and indolence; such savages must necessarily perspire very little, and be very moderate in their eating. Without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, they found constantly, at the foot of the trees, a wholesome food, fitted to their constitution; and which required no great preparation. If they sometimes added to these gifts of liberal and uncultivated nature, what they had taken in hunting and fishing, it was mostly upon occasion of some public feast.

THESE extraordinary festivals were not holden at any stated times. The guests themselves shewed no alteration in their usual characters. In these meetings they were not more gay or sprightly, than at other times. A spirit of indolence and listlessness appeared in their countenances. Their dances were so grave and solemn, that the motions of their bodies were expressive of the dulness of their minds. But these gloomy festivals, like those clouded skies that are the forerunners of a storm, were seldom concluded

without



**BOOK** without bloodshed. These savages, who were  
 X. so temperate when alone, grew drunk when assembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived those family dissensions, that were either only stifled, or not entirely extinguished: and thus these festivals terminated in massacres. Hatred and revenge, the only passions that could deeply agitate the minds of these savages, were thus perpetuated by convivial pleasures. In the height of these entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and swore that they would wage war upon the continent, and, sometimes, in the great islands.

The Caribs used to embark upon boats, made of a single tree, that had been felled by burning it's roots. Whole years had been employed in hollowing these canoes, by hatchets made of stone, or by means of fire, skilfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the most proper form. These free and voluntary warriors being arrived on the coasts, to which they were led, sometimes by a blind caprice, and sometimes by violent hatred, went in quest of nations to exterminate. They made their attack with a kind of club, nearly as long as the arm, and with poisoned arrows. At their return from this military expedition, which was the more speedily brought to a conclusion, as mutual enmity rendered it more cruel and spirited, the savages fell again into their former state of indolence and inactivity.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding the advantage of fire-arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always successful. At first they fought only for gold, and afterwards for slaves, but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribs being so proud and sullen that they died when reduced to slavery; the Spaniards gave up

all thoughts of making conquests, which they BOOK  
X.  
thought of little consequence, and which they could neither acquire nor preserve without constant and bloody wars.

THE English and French being apprized of these transactions, ventured to equip a small fleet, in order to intercept the Spanish vessels which frequented these latitudes. The advantages gained, increased the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent these expeditions. The custom that prevailed among the Spaniards, of stopping all ships that sailed beyond the tropic, justified such piracies.

THE two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward Islands, without ever thinking of making any settlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehensive of irritating the Caribs, by whom they had been favourably received: or, perhaps, they considered that a soil, which afforded none of those productions that were of use in the Old World, was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, some English and French, the former headed by Warner, and the latter by Denambuc, landed at St. Christopher's on the same day, at two opposite parts of the island. The frequent losses they sustained, served to convince them both, that they certainly would never triumph over, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the common enemy, unless they had some fixed residence, ports, and a place of general rendezvous. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conquest, they amicably divided the coasts of the island where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the spot they were fixed upon, telling them at the same time, that

**BOOK** *land must either be very bad or very scarce with*  
**X.** *them, since they were come from so great a distance,*  
*and had exposed themselves to so many dangers, to*  
*seek for it among them.*

THE court of Madrid were not so peaceably inclined. Frederic of Toledo, who was sent to Brazil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to attack the Dutch, was ordered, in his passage, to destroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and industrious nations occasioned the greatest anxiety to the Spaniards. They were sensible that their colonies would be exposed to attacks, if any other people should come to settle in that part of America.

THE French and English in vain united their weak powers against the common enemy: they were beaten, and those who were not either killed in the action, or not taken prisoners, fled for shelter, with the utmost precipitation, into the neighbouring islands. When the danger was over, they most of them returned to their former settlements. Spain, whose attention was engrossed by objects she considered as of greater importance, disturbed them no more; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealousies would occasion their destruction.

UNFORTUNATELY for the Caribs, the two nations, thus conquered, suspended their rivalry. The Caribs, already suspected of forming a conspiracy in St. Christopher's, were either banished or destroyed. Their wives, their provisions, and even the lands they occupied, were seized upon. A spirit of anxiety, the consequence of usurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe that the other savage nations had entered into the conspiracy; and they were therefore attacked in their islands. In vain

vain did those plain and inoffensive men, who had BOOK  
 no inclination to contend for the possession of a land X.  
 which they considered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations, in proportion as the Europeans advanced with their incroachments; they were still pursued with the same eagerness and obstinacy. As soon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms; and the spirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, must have sometimes contributed to render them cruel, though not unjust.

In earlier times, the English and the French considered the Caribs as their common enemy; but this kind of casual association was frequently interrupted. It implied not a lasting engagement, much less the becoming guarantee for their mutual possessions. The savages artfully contrived to be at peace, sometimes with one nation, and sometimes with the other; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time. This management would have been but of little service to these islanders, had not Europe, scarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whose excursions had as yet been of no use to her, and not sufficiently enlightened to penetrate into futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them into a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference shewn by the two mother-countries, determined their subjects of the New World, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, securing to each people those possessions the various events of war had procured them, and which, till then, had been totally unsettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offensive and defensive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this

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plan,

**B O O K** plan; to which their fears induced them to accede  
 X. the very same year.

By this treaty, which established tranquillity in this part of America, France obtained Guadalupe, Martinico, Granada, and some less considerable acquisitions. England was confirmed in the possession of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and several other islands of little value: St. Christopher belonged to both nations. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincent's; where all the scattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6,000 men.

The French take possession of part of St. Domingo Character of these adventurers.

At this period, the English settlements had acquired, under a government, which, though not free from defects, was yet tolerable, some kind of form, and were in a flourishing state. On the contrary the French colonies were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, reduced to despair, from the necessity they were under of submitting to the tyranny of exclusive privileges. These men, passionately attached to liberty, fled to the northern coast of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for several adventurers of their own country, since they had been driven out of St. Christopher's about thirty years before.

THEY were called Buccaneers, because they imitated the custom of the savages, in drying the food they lived upon by smoke, in places called buccans. As they had no wives nor children, they usually associated two in a company, to assist one another in family duties. In these societies property was common, and the last survivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown among them, though no precautions were taken against it; and what was wanting at home was freely borrowed from some of the neighbours, without any other restriction than that of a previous

vious intimation, if they were at home; if not, BOOK  
X. of making them acquainted with it at their return. Cæsar found in Gaul the same custom, which bears the double character, both of a primitive state, in which every thing was in common, and of times posterior to that, in which the idea of private property was known and respected. Differences seldom arose, and when they did, were easily adjusted. If the parties, however, were obstinate, they decided the matter by fire-arms. If the ball entered at the back or the sides, it was considered as a mark of treachery, and the assassin was immediately put to death. The former laws of their country were disregarded, and by the usual sea baptism they had received in passing the tropic, they considered themselves exempted from all obligation to obey them. These adventurers had even quitted their family name to assume others, borrowed from terms of war, most of which have been transmitted to their posterity.

THE dress of these barbarians consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers dirtier than the shirt, and made in the shape of a brewer's apron, a girdle made of leather, on which a very short sabre was hung, and some knives; a hat, without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and shoes, without stockings. Their ambition was satisfied, if they could but provide themselves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five-and-twenty or thirty dogs.

THE Buccaneers spent their life in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the island, since the Spaniards had brought them. The best parts of these animals, when seasoned with pimento and orange juice, were the  
most

BOOK X most common food of their destroyers, who had forgotten the use of bread, and who had nothing but water to drink. The hides of these animals were conveyed to several ports, and bought by the navigators. They were carried thither by men who were called *engagés*, or bondsmen, a set of persons, who were used to sell themselves in Europe to serve as slaves in the colonies, during the term of three years. One of these miserable men, presuming to represent to his master, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden such a practice, when he had declared, *six days shalt thou labour, and on the seventh day shalt thou rest*, And I, replied the brutal Buccaneer, say to thee *six days thou shalt kill bulls, and strip them of their skins, and on the seventh day thou shalt carry their hides to the sea shore*. This command was followed by blows, which sometimes enforce obedience, sometimes disobedience, to the laws of God.

MEN of such a cast, habituated to constant exercises, and feeding every day on fresh meat, were little exposed to diseases. Their excursions were only suspended by a slight fever, which lasted one day, and was not felt the next. They must, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intense a heat, to enable them to support so hard and laborious a manner of life.

THE climate, indeed, was the only enemy the Buccaneers had reason to fear. The Spanish colony, at first so considerable, was reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother-country, it had even lost the remembrance of its former greatness. The few inhabitants that survived, lived in a state of indolence: their slaves had no other employment but to swing them in their hammocks. Confined to those wants only that

that are satisfied by nature, frugality prolonged BOOK  
 their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in X  
 more temperate climates

It is probable they would not have been roused from their indolence, had not the enterprising and active spirit of their enemies pursued them in proportion as they retreated. Exasperated at length, from having their tranquillity and ease continually disturbed, they invited from the continent, and from the neighbouring islands, some troops who fell upon the dispersed Buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked these barbarians in small parties in their excursions, or in the night time, when retired into their huts, and many of them were massacred. These adventurers would most probably have been all destroyed, had they not formed themselves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an absolute necessity of separating in the day-time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was missing, it was supposed that he was either taken prisoner or killed, and the chase was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may easily conceive how much blood must have been shed by such ruffians, belonging to no country, and subject to no laws, hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and instinct, and excited to murder and massacres from being habituated to attack, and from the necessity of defending themselves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to destruction, without any distinction of sex or age. The Spaniards, at length despairing of being able to get the better of such savage and obstinate enemies, took the resolution of destroying all the bulls of the islands, by a general chase. The execution of this design having deprived the Buccaneers of their usual resources, put them under



plains of Rocroy, by it's continual losses in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of it's ministers, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which, after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itself on great objects, had degenerated into an indolent haughtiness: all these circumstances, tending to the ruin of the Spanish monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be successfully waged against her. France skilfully took the advantage of these confusions she had partly occasioned; and Cromwell, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to share in the spoils of a kingdom hastening to destruction in every part.

THIS conduct of the Protector caused a revolt among the best English officers, who, considering it as an instance of great injustice, determined to quit the service. They thought that the will of their superiors could not give sanction to an enterprise, which violated all the principles of equity; and that by concurring in the execution of it, they would be guilty of the greatest crime. The rest of the Europeans looked upon these principles of virtue and honour, as the effect of that republican and fanatical spirit which then prevailed in England; but they attacked the Protector with other motives.

SPAIN had long threatened to enslave all other nations. Perhaps the multitude, who are little able to estimate the strength of nations, and to weigh the variations in the balance of power, were not yet recovered from their ancient prejudices. An universal panic had seized the minds of those able men who attentively studied the general progress of affairs. They were sensible, that if the rapid and extraordinary successes of France were not checked by some foreign power, she would deprive the Spaniards of their possessions, impose on them

BOOK X them what laws she thought proper, compel them to the marriage of the Infanta with Lewis XIV secure to herself the inheritance of Charles the V. and oppress the liberty of Europe that she had formerly protected Cromwell, who had lately subverted the government of his country, seemed a fit person to give a check to the power of kings but he was looked upon as the weakest of politicians, when he was observed to form connections, which his own private interests, those of his country, as well as those of Europe in general, ought absolutely to have prevented him from entering into

THESE observations could not possibly escape the deep and penetrating genius of the usurper But, perhaps, he was desirous of preserving the idea the nation already entertained of his abilities, by some important conquest If he had declared himself on the side of Spain, the execution of this project must have been chimerical, as the utmost he could possibly expect was to restore the balance of power between the two contending parties He imagined it more favourable to his designs to begin to form a connection with France, and afterwards to attack her, when he had made himself master of those possessions that were the object of his ambition Whatever truth there may be in these conjectures, which, however, may be supported from the evidence of history, and are, at least, consistent with the character of the extraordinary politician, who is supposed to have adopted this mode of reasoning, the English went into the New World to attack an enemy they had just brought upon themselves

THEIR first attempts were directed against the town of St Domingo, the inhabitants of which retired into the woods as soon as they saw a large fleet commanded by Penn, and nine thousand

land forces, headed by Venables, appear before the city. But the errors committed by their enemies, inspiring these fugitives with fresh courage, they returned, and compelled the enemy to reembark with disgrace. This misfortune was the consequence of the ill concerted plan of this expedition.

THE two commanders of this enterprise were men of very moderate abilities. They entertained a mutual hatred against each other, and were not attached to the Protector. Inspectors had been appointed to watch over them, who, under the name of commissaries, checked their operations. The soldiers who were sent from Europe were the refuse of the army, and the militia, taken from Barbadoes and St Christopher's, were under no kind of discipline. The hope of plunder, that stimulus so necessary for the success of distant and difficult enterprises, was prohibited. Matters were arranged in such a manner, as to render it impossible for any kind of harmony to subsist between the several persons who were to concur in their success. Proper arms, provisions fit for the climate, and the information necessary to conduct the enterprise, were all wanting.

THE execution of the attack was answerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been effected without danger even in the port itself, was accomplished without a guide, at forty miles distance. The troops wandered about for four days without water or provisions. Exhausted by the excessive heat of the climate, and discouraged by the cowardice and misunderstanding of their officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards for victory. They scarce thought themselves in safety when they had got back to their ships.

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BUT ill success contributed to reconcile the irritated parties. The English, who had not yet contracted the habit of bearing disgrace, reclaimed by the very faults they had committed, and restored to the love of their country, to a sense of their duty, and to a thirst of glory, sailed for Jamaica, with a determined resolution, either to perish, or to make the conquest of it.

THE inhabitants of this island, subject to Spain since the year 1509, were ignorant of what had happened at St Domingo, and did not imagine they had any enemy sailing in the neighbouring seas. The English therefore landed without opposition. They were boldly marching to lay siege to St Jago, the only fortified place in the colony, when the governor gave a check to their ardour, by offering them terms of capitulation.<sup>11</sup> The discussion of the articles, artfully prolonged, gave the colonists time to remove their most valuable effects into secret places. They themselves fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, leaving only to the conquerors a city without inhabitants, moveables, treasures, or provisions.<sup>12</sup>

THIS artifice exasperated the besiegers. They sent out detachments on every side, with express orders to destroy every thing they met with. The disappointment they felt on finding these parties return without having discovered any thing, the want of every convenience, more sensibly felt by this nation than any other, the mortality which increased among them every day, the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the New World all these circumstances conspired to make them clamorous for a speedy return into England. The cowardly desertion of so rich a prize as Jamaica, which they had almost resolved upon, would soon have exposed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not discovered

discovered at last some pasture land, where the fugitives had conveyed their numerous flocks. This unexpected good fortune occasioned a change in the sentiments of the English, and made them resolve to complete their conquest.

THE spirit of activity, which this last resolution had excited, convinced the besieged, that they could not remain with safety in the forests and precipices, where they had concealed themselves. They unanimously, therefore, agreed to set sail for Cuba. Here they were received with such marks of disgrace as the weakness of their defence deserved, and they were sent back again; but with such succours as were unequal to the forces they had to contend with. From that principle of honour, which in most men arises rather from a fear of shame than a love of glory, they made a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected from the few resources they had. They did not evacuate this considerable island, till they were reduced to the greatest extremities; and from that period it hath remained one of the most valuable possessions of Great Britain in the New World.

BEFORE the English had made any settlement at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, some pirates of both nations, who have since been so much distinguished by the name of Freebooters, had driven the Spaniards out of the small island of Tortuga, situated at the distance of two leagues from St. Domingo; and fortifying themselves there, had made excursions with amazing intrepidity against the common enemy. They formed themselves into small companies, consisting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or smaller size, was all their naval force. These boats were scarce big enough for a person to lie down in, and they had nothing to shelter them from the ardent heats

The freebooters ravage the American seas Origin, manners, expeditions and decline of these pirates

BOOK of a burning climate, nor from the rains, which  
 X. fall in torrents in those regions. They were often  
 in want of the most necessary supports of life. But all these calamities were forgotten at the sight of a ship. They never deliberated on the attack, but proceeded immediately to board the ship, of whatever size it might be. As soon as they threw out the grappling, the vessel was certainly taken.

IN cases of extreme necessity, these banditti attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exercised on the Americans, justified the implacable aversion they had sworn against them. But this extraordinary kind of humanity was heightened by personal resentment, from the mortification they felt, in seeing themselves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fishing, which they justly considered as natural rights. Such was their infatuation, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they used to pray to Heaven for the success of it, and they never came back from the plunder, but they constantly returned thanks to God for their victory.

THE ships that arrived from Europe seldom tempted their avidity. These barbarians would have found nothing but merchandise in them, the sale of which would not have been very profitable, and would have required too constant an attention. They always waited for them on their return, when they were laden with the gold, silver, and jewels of the other hemisphere. If they met with a single ship, they never failed to attack her. They followed the fleets themselves, and any ship that straggled, or remained behind, was inevitably lost. The Spaniards, who trembled at the sight of these implacable enemies,

mies, immediately surrendered. Life was granted to them, if the cargo proved a rich one; but if the conquerors were disappointed in their expectations, all the crew were frequently thrown into the sea. BOOK  
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PETER LEGRAND, a native of Dieppe, had no more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men in his boat; yet with this trifling force he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. He boarded him, having first given orders to sink his own vessel; and the Spaniards were so much surprised at this boldness, that not one of them attempted to oppose him. When he came to the captain's cabin, who was engaged at play, he presented a pistol to him, and compelled him to surrender. This commander, with the greater part of the crew, they landed at the nearest cape, as a useless burden to the ship they had so ill defended, and reserved only a sufficient number of sailors to work her.

FIFTY-five free-booters, who had sailed into the southern sea, proceeded as far as California. To return into the northern sea, they were obliged to sail two thousand leagues against the wind in a canoe. When they were at the Streights of Magellan, they were seized with rage at having made no plunder in so rich an ocean, and steered again towards Peru. They were informed that there was in the port of Yauca, a ship the cargo of which was valued at several millions: they immediately attacked, took her, and embarked upon her.

MICHAEL DE BASCO, Jonqué, and Lawrence le Graff, were cruising before Carthagena with three small and bad vessels, when two men of war sailed out of the harbour to attack these free-booters, and to bring them alive or dead. The Spaniards were so much deceived in their expectations,

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 tions, that they were themselves taken prisoners. The victors kept the ships, but they sent back the crews with a degree of scorn, which greatly enhanced the shame of a defeat in itself so humiliating.

MICHAEL and Bronage having received intelligence, that a very valuable cargo had been shipped from Carthage in vessels carrying a foreign flag, in order to secure it from their rapine, attacked the two ships that were loaded with this treasure, and plundered them. The Dutch captains, exasperated at their being beaten by ships so inferior to theirs, ventured to tell one of these adventurers openly, that if he had been alone, he would not dare to attack them. *Let us begin the fight again*, replied the Buccaneer with haughtiness, *and my companion shall remain a quiet spectator of the engagement. If I should be conqueror again, both your ships shall also be mine.* The prudent republicans, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, apprehending if they should stop, that they might not have the liberty of declining it.

LAWRENCE, who was on board a very small vessel, was overtaken by two Spanish ships, carrying each sixty guns. *You live*, said he, addressing himself to his companions, *too much experience not to be sensible of your danger, and too much courage to fear it. On this occasion we must avail ourselves of every circumstance, hazard every thing, attack and defend ourselves at the same time. Valour, artifice, rashness, and even despair itself, must now be employed. Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat, let us dread the cruelty of our enemies, and let us fight, that we may escape them.*

AFTER this speech, which was received with general applause, the captain called to the bravest of the free booters, and publicly ordered him to set



set fire to the gun-powder, on the first signal he should give him; shewing, by this resolution, that they must either expect death, or defend themselves. Then extending his hand toward the enemy, *We must, says he, pass between their ships, and fire upon them from every side, according to your usual custom.* This plan of operation was executed with equal courage and dispatch. The ships indeed were not taken; but the crews were so reduced in number, that they either were not able, or had not courage enough to continue the combat against a handful of resolute men, who, even in their retreat, carried away the honour of the victory. The Spanish commander atoned, by his death, for the disgrace his ignorance and cowardice had stamped upon his country. In every engagement the free booters shewed the same spirit of intrepidity.

When they had got a considerable booty, at first they held their rendezvous at the island of Tortuga, in order to divide the spoil; but afterwards the French went to St. Domingo, and the English to Jamaica. They all took an oath, that they had secreted none of the spoil. If any one among them was convicted of perjury, which seldom happened, he was left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island, as an infamous person. The first shares of the booty were always given to those who had been maimed in any of their engagements. If they had lost a hand, an arm, or a leg, they received two hundred crowns\*. An eye, or a finger, lost in fight, was valued only, at half the above sum. The wounded were allowed three livres† a day for two months, to enable them to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to

\* 25l. † 2s. 6d.

**B O O K** fulfil these sacred obligations, the whole company  
 { **X.** were bound to engage in some fresh expedition,  
 and to continue it, even till they had acquired a  
 sufficient stock to enable them to satisfy such honourable contracts.

AFTER this act of justice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided. The commander, in strictness, could only lay claim to a single share as the rest; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as they were satisfied with his skill, valour, and conduct. When the vessel was not the property of the company, the person who had fitted it out, and furnished it with necessary arms and provisions, was entitled to a third of the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the division of the booty; for every share was rigidly determined by lot. This probity was extended even to the dead. Their share was given to their surviving companion. If the person who had been killed had none, his part was sent to his family. If there were no friends or relations, it was distributed in charity to the poor and to churches, which were to pray for the person in whose name these benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but necessary piratical plunder.

THEY afterwards indulged themselves in profusions of all kinds. Unbounded licentiousness in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmost pitch of excess, and was stopt only by the want which such profusions brought on. Those men who were enriched with several millions, were in an instant totally ruined, and destitute of clothes and provisions. They returned to sea, and the new supplies they acquired were soon lavished in the same manner. If these madmen were asked, what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly,

rapidly, what they had gained with so much difficulty; they made this very ingenuous reply: "Exposed as we are to such a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding up? We reckon only the day we live, but never think upon that which is to come. Our concern is rather to squander life away, than to preserve it."

THE Spanish colonies, flattering themselves with the hopes of seeing an end to their miseries, and reduced almost to despair in finding themselves a perpetual prey to these ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniences and fortune their connections procured them, and formed themselves almost into so many distinct and separate states. They were sensible of the inconveniences arising from such a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and savage men, had greater influence over them, than the dictates of honour, interest, and policy. This was the rise of that spirit of inactivity which continues to this time.

THIS despondency served only to increase the boldness of the free-booters. As yet they had only appeared in the Spanish settlements, in order to carry off some provisions; and even this they had done very seldom. They no sooner found their captures begin to diminish, than they determined to recover by land, what they had lost at sea. The richest and most populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waste. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than sail in the latitudes which belonged to them.

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AMONG the free-booters, who signalized themselves in this new species of excursions, Montbar was a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly distinguished himself. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial account of the cruelties practised in the New World, he conceived an aversion, which he carried to a degree of frenzy against that nation that had committed such enormities. Upon this point a story is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard, he fell upon the person who personated the Spaniard with such fury, that he would have strangled him, had he not been rescued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually represented to him innumerable multitudes of people massacred by savage monsters who came out of Spain. He was animated with an irresistible ardour to avenge so much innocent blood. The enthusiasm this spirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel, than the thirst of gold, or the fanaticism of religion, to which so many victims had been sacrificed. The manes of these unhappy sufferers seemed to rouse him, and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard some account of the *brethren of the coast*,<sup>1</sup> as of the most inveterate enemies to the Spanish name: he therefore embarked on board a ship in order to join them.

In the passage they met with a Spanish vessel attacked it, and, as it was usual in those times immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a sabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and hurrying twice from one end of the ship to the other, levelled every thing that opposed him. When he had compelled the enemy to surrender, leaving to his companions the happiness of dividing so rich a booty, he contented himself

with

with the savage pleasure of 'contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards lying in heaps together, against whom he had sworn a constant and deadly hatred.

FRESH opportunities soon occurred, that enabled him to exert this spirit of revenge, without extinguishing it. The ship he was upon arrived at the coast of St. Domingo. The French who were settled in the island, brought him only a small quantity of refreshment, and alleged in excuse, that the Spaniards had laid waste their settlements. "Why," replied Montbar, "do you suffer such insults?" "Neither do we," answered they in the same tone; "the Spaniards have experienced what kind of men we are, and have therefore taken advantage of the time when we were engaged in hunting. But we are going to join some of our companions, who have been still more ill-treated than we, and then we shall have warm work." "If you approve it," answered Montbar, "I will head you, not as your commander, but as the foremost to expose myself to danger." The Buccaneers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was such a man as they wanted, cheerfully accepted his offer. The same day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar attacked them with an impetuosity that astonished the bravest. Nothing escaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally distinguished as this day. The Spaniards suffered so much from him, both by land and at sea, that he acquired the name of the *Extirminator*.

His savage disposition, as well as that of the other Buccaneers who attended him, having obliged the Spaniards to confine themselves within their settlements, these free-booters resolved to attack them there. This new method of carry-

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X.

BOOK X. King on the war required superior forces; and their associations, in consequence, became more numerous. The first that was considerable, was formed by Lolonois, who derived his name from the sands of Olone, the place of his birth. From the abject state of a bondsman, he had gradually raised himself to the command of two canoes, with twenty-two men. With these he was so successful, as to take a Spanish frigate on the coast of Cuba. A slave having observed that all the men who were wounded were put to death, and fearing lest he should share the same fate, wanted to save himself by a perfidious declaration, but very consistent with the part he had been destined to take. He assured them, that the governor of the Havannah had put him on board, in order to serve as executioner to all the Buccaneers he had sentenced to be hanged, not doubting in the least but they would be all taken prisoners. The savage Lolonois, fired with rage at this declaration, ordered all the Spaniards to be brought before him, and cut off their heads one after another, sucking, at each stroke, the drops of blood that trickled down his sabre. He then repaired to the Port-au-Prince, in which were four ships, fitted out purposely to sail in pursuit of him. He took them, and threw all the crews into the sea, except one man, whom he saved, in order to send him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and assuring him, that he would treat in the same manner all the Spaniards that should fall into his hands, not excepting the governor himself, if he should be so fortunate as to take him. After this expedition, he ran his canoes and prize-ships a ground, and sailed with his frigate only to the island of Tortuga.

HERE

HERE he met with Michael de Basco, who had BOOK  
X  
 so much distinguished himself in having taken, even under the cannon of Porto Bello, a Spanish ship, estimated at five or six millions of livres \*, and by other actions equally brave and daring. These two adventurers gave out, that they were going together upon some important project, and they were joined by four hundred and forty men. This corps, the most numerous the Buccaneers had yet been able to muster, sailed to the bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country for the space of fifty leagues. The fort that was built at the entrance of it for it's defence was taken, the cannon spiked, and the whole garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, put to the sword. They then reembarked, and came to Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake of the same name, at the distance of ten leagues from it's mouth. This city, which had become flourishing and rich by it's trade in skins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deserted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other side of the bay. If the Buccaneers had not lost a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants had secreted, to secure it from being plundered. On the contrary, they met with fortifications lately erected, which they had the useless satisfaction of making themselves masters of, at the expence of a great deal of blood, for the inhabitants had already removed at a distance the most valuable part of their property. Exasperated at this disappointment, they set fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have shared the same fate, had it not been ransomed. Beside the sum they received

\* From 208,333l 6s 8d to 250,000l

**B O O K** for it's ransom, they also carried off with them  
 X. all the crosses, pictures, and bells of the churches;  
 intending, as they said, to build a chapel in the  
 island of Tortuga, and to consecrate this part of  
 their spoils to sacred purposes. Such was the reli-  
 gion of these barbarous people, who could make  
 no other offering to heaven, than that which arose  
 from their robberies and plunder.

WHILE they were idly dissipating the spoils they  
 had made on the coast of Venezuela, Morgan, the  
 most renowned of the English free booters, sailed  
 from Jamaica to attack Porto Bello. His plan of  
 operations was so well contrived, that he surprised  
 the city, and took it without opposition. In or-  
 der to secure the fort with the same facility, he  
 compelled the women and the priests to fix the scal-  
 ing ladders to the walls, from a full conviction,  
 that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards  
 would never suffer them to fire at the persons they  
 considered as the objects of their love and reverence.  
 But the garrison was not to be deceived by this ar-  
 tifice, and was only to be subdued by force of  
 arms; the treasures that were carried away from  
 this famous port were acquired at the expence of  
 much bloodshed.

THE conquest of Panama was an object of much  
 greater importance. To secure this, Morgan  
 thought it necessary to sail in the latitudes of  
 Costa Ricca, to procure some guides in the island  
 of St. Catharine, to which the Spaniards transport-  
 ed their malefactors. This place was so strongly  
 fortified, that it ought to have stopped the pro-  
 gress of the most intrepid commander for ten  
 years. Notwithstanding this, the governor, on  
 the first appearance of the pirates, lest privately  
 to concert measures how he might surrender him-  
 self without incurring the imputation of cowar-  
 dice. The result of this consultation was, that  
 Morgan,



Morgan, in the night-time, should attack a fort at some distance, and that the governor should sally out of the citadel to defend this important post; that the besiegers should then attack him in the rear, and take him prisoner, which would consequently occasion a surrender of the place. It was agreed that a brisk firing should be kept up on both sides, without doing mischief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being exposed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty, and the free-booters, after having totally demolished the fortifications, and put on board their vessels a prodigious quantity of warlike stores, which they found at St. Catharine's, steered their course towards the river Chagre, the only channel that was open to them, to arrive at the place which was the object of their utmost wishes.

At the entrance of this considerable river, a fort was built upon a steep rock, which the waves of the sea constantly beat against. This bulwark, very difficult of access, was defended by an officer, whose extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garrison that deserved such a commander. The free-booters, for the first time, here met with a resistance that could only be equalled by their perseverance: it was a doubtful point, whether they would succeed, or be obliged to raise the siege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the besiegers then taking advantage of this double calamity, made themselves masters of the place.

MORGAN left his vessels at anchor, with a sufficient number of men to guard them, and sailed up the river in his boats for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceases to be navigable.

He

B O O K X He then proceeded by land to Panama, which was only five leagues distant. Upon a large and extensive plain that was before the city, he met with a considerable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greatest ease, and entered into the city, that was now abandoned.

HERE were found prodigious treasures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring forests were also found several rich deposits. But the party of free booters who were making excursions into the country, little satisfied with this booty, exercised the most shocking tortures on the Spaniards, Negroes, and Indians they discovered, to oblige them to confess where they had secreted their own as well as their masters riches. A beggar, accidentally going into a castle that had been deserted through fear, found some apparel that he put on. He had scarcely dressed himself in this manner, when he was perceived by these pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man shewed them the ragged clothes he had just thrown off. He was instantly tortured, but as he made no discovery, he was given up to some slaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treasures the Spaniards had acquired in the New World by massacres and tortures, were restored again in the same manner.

In the midst of such scenes of horror, the savage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inspire the object of his attachment with favourable sentiments towards him. He was resolved therefore to subdue by force the beautiful Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. *Stop*, cried she to this savage, as she sprung with eagerness from his arms, *Stop: Thinkest thou then that*  
*me, as thou hast wrestled*

*wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? Be assured that I can die, and be revenged.* Having said this, she drew out a poniard from under her gown, which she would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow. BOOK  
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BUT Morgan, still inflamed with a passion which this determined resistance had turned into rage, instead of the tenderness and attention he had made use of to prevail upon his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greatest inhumanity. The fair Spaniard, immoveably resolute, stimulated, at the same time that she resisted the frantic desires of Morgan; till at last the pirates, expressing their resentment at being kept so long in a state of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the necessity of listening to their complaints, and giving up his pursuit. Panama was burnt. They then set sail with a great number of prisoners, who were ransomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

BEFORE the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the division of the spoil, Morgan, while the rest of the pirates were in a deep sleep, with the principal free-booters of his own country, sailed for Jamaica, in a vessel which he had laden with the rich spoils of a city, that served as the staple of commerce between the Old and the New World. This instance of treachery, unheard-of before, excited a rage and resentment not to be described. The English pursued the robber, in hopes of wresting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been frustrated. The French, though sharers in the same loss, retired to the island of Tortuga, from whence they made several expeditions. But they were all trifling, till, in the year 1683, they attempted one of the greatest importance:

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THE plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn, a native of Ostend, though he had served all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him suffer the least signs of cowardice among those who were associated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ship, successively observed his men, and immediately killed those who shrank at the sudden report of a pistol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary discipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other respects, he readily shared with the men of spirit and bravery the immense riches that were acquired by so truly warlike a disposition. When he went upon these expeditions, he generally sailed in his frigate, which was his own property. But these new designs requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his assistance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, distinguished by their exploits, and Lawrence de Grass, a Dutchman, who had signalized himself still more than they. Twelve hundred free-booters joined themselves to these famous commanders, and sailed in six vessels for Vera-Cruz.

THE darkness of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being discovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the posts of the greatest consequence; every thing, in a word, that could occasion any resistance, was taken by break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were shut up in the churches, where they had fled for shelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gun-powder to blow up the building. A free-booter, with a lighted match, was to set fire to it upon the least appearance of an insurrection.

WHILE

WHILE the city was kept in such terror, it was easily pillaged, and after the free booters had carried off what was most valuable, they made a proposal to the citizens who were kept prisoners in the churches, to ransom their lives and liberties, by a contribution of ten millions of livres\*. These unfortunate people, who had neither eaten nor drunk for three days, cheerfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the same day the other part was expected from the inland parts of the country, when there appeared, on an eminence, a considerable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of seventeen ships from Europe. At the sight of this armament the free booters, without any marks of surprise, retreated quietly with fifteen hundred slaves they had carried off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the rest of the money they expected, the settling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. These ruffians sincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by force of arms upon the coasts where they made a descent, was their lawful property, and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of these contributions they compelled the inhabitants to sign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the interest of that part of the sum that was not yet paid.

THEIR retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly sailed through the midst of the Spanish fleet, which let them pass without firing a single gun; and were, in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have escaped so easily, and with no other inconvenience, but such as arose from their fears, if

**B O O K** the vessels of the pirates had not been laden with  
**X.** riches, or if the Spanish fleet had been freighted  
 with any other effects but such merchandise as were  
 little valued by these pirates.

A YEAR had scarce elapsed since their return from Mexico, when on a sudden they were all seized with the rage of going to plunder the country of Peru. They expected, undoubtedly, to find greater treasures upon a sea little frequented, than upon one so long exposed to plunder. The French and English, and even the pirate associations of these two nations, projected this plan at the same time, without having concerted it together. Four thousand men directed their course to this part of the New Hemisphere. Some of them came by the continent, and others by the Streights of Magellan, to the place that was the object of their wishes. If the intrepidity of these barbarians had been directed, by a skilful and respectable commander, to one single uniform end, this important colony would have been lost to Spain. But their natural character was an invincible obstacle to so rare an union; for they always formed themselves into several distinct bodies, sometimes into so few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together, or separately, as the most trifling caprice directed. Grogner, Lécuyer, Picard, and Le Sage, were the most distinguished officers among the French: David, Samms, Peter, Wilner, and Townley, among the English.

SUCH of those adventurers as had got into the South Sea by the Streights of Darien, seized upon the first vessels they found upon the coast. Their associates, who had sailed in their own vessels, were not much better provided. Weak however as they were, they beat, sunk, or took, all the ships that were fitted out against them. The Spaniards then suspended their navigations. The free-booters  
 . were

were continually obliged to make descents upon the coasts to get provisions; or to go by land in order to plunder those cities where the booty was secured. They successively attacked Seppo, Puebla-Nuevo, Leon, Reulejo, Pueblo-Viejo, Chiriquita, Esparso, Granada, Villa, Nicoya, Tecoa-tepec, Muemeluna, Chuluteca, New-Segovia, and Guayaquil, the most considerable of all these places.

As Grogner was returning home from one of those rapid expeditions, he found that a defile through which he was to pass, was occupied by some battalions that were intrenched, who offered not to impede his retreat, provided he would consent to release the prisoners he had taken. *If,* said he, *you would have my prisoners, you must cut their irons asunder with your sabres; with respect to my passage, my sword secures that to me.* This answer gained him a victory, and he pursued his march unmolested.

UNIVERSAL terror prevailed throughout the empire; the approach of the free-booters, and even the fear of their arrival dispersed the people. The Spaniards, grown effeminate by the most extravagant luxury, enervated by the peaceful exercise of their tyranny, and reduced to the state of their slaves, never waited for the enemy, unless they were at least twenty to one; and even then they were beaten. They retained no impression of the pride and nobility of their origin. They were so much degenerated, that they had lost all ideas of the art of war, and were even scarce acquainted with the use of fire-arms. They were but little better than the Americans, whom they trampled upon. This extraordinary want of courage was increased, from the idea they had conceived of the ferocious men who attacked them. Their monks had drawn them with the same hideous

BOOK  
X

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BOOK features, with which they represented devils; and  
 X. they themselves had overcharged the picture.  
 Such a representation, the offspring of a wild and  
 terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every  
 mind aversion and terror.

NOTWITHSTANDING the excess of their resentment, the Spaniards only recked their revenge upon their foes, when they were no more able to inspire terror. As soon as the Buccaneers had quitted the place they had plundered, and if any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was digged up again, mutilated, or made to pass through the various kinds of torture, that would have been practised upon the man, had he been alive. This abhorrence of the free-booters was extended even to the places on which they had exercised their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and soil of the places which had been laid waste were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.

THIS rage, equally impotent and childish, could only contribute to embolden that of their enemies. As soon as they took a town, it was directly set on fire, unless a sum, proportioned to it's value, was given to save it. The prisoners taken in battle were massacred without mercy, if they were not ransomed by government, or by individuals: gold, pearls, or precious stones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ransom. Silver being too common, and too weighty in proportion to it's value, would have been troublesome to them. In a word, the chances of fortune, that seldom leave guilt unpunished, nor adversity without a compensation for it's sufferings, atoned for the crimes committed in the conquest of the New World, and the Indians were amply avenged of the Spaniards.

BUT it happened in this, as it generally does in BOOK  
X  
vents of this nature, that those who committed such outrages, did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the course of these piracies, from the effects of the climate, from distress or debauchery. Some were shipwrecked in passing the Streights of Magellan, and at Cape Horn. Most of those who attempted to get to the Northern Sea by land, fell into the ambuscade that was laid for them, and lost either their lives, or the booty they had acquired. The English and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that lasted four years, and found themselves deprived of their bravest inhabitants.

WHILE such piracies were committed on the Southern Ocean, the Northern was threatened with the same by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had distinguished himself in a military capacity in Europe, but his passion for wine, gaming, and women, had induced him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were sufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous, and eloquent. He was endued with a sound judgment, and was a person of approved valour, which soon made him be considered as the chief of the French free booters. As soon as it was known that he had taken up arms, he was immediately joined by a number of brave men. The governor of St Domingo, who had at length prevailed upon his master to approve of the project, equally wise and just, of fixing the pirates to some place, and inducing them to become cultivators, was desirous of preventing the concerted expedition and forbade it in the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater share of sense than his associates, was not on that account more inclined to comply, and sternly replied *How can*

BOOK X. *Lewis disapprove of a design he is unacquainted with, and which hath been planned only a few days ago?*  
 This answer highly pleased all the free-booters, who directly embarked, in 1685, to attack Campeachy.

THEY landed without opposition. But at some distance from the coast, they were attacked by eight hundred Spaniards, who were beaten and pursued to the town, where both parties entered at the same time. The cannon they found there was immediately levelled against the citadel. As it had very little effect, they were contriving some stratagem to enable them to become masters of the place, when intelligence was brought that it was abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Englishman, and an officer of such signal courage, that he chose rather to expose himself to the greatest extremities, than basely to fly from the place with the rest. The commander of the Buccaneers received him with marks of distinction, generously released him, gave him up all his effects, and besides complimented him with some valuable presents: such influence have courage and fidelity, even on the minds of those who seem to violate all the rights of society.

THE conquerors of Campeachy spent two months in searching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitants, in their flight, thought they had preserved. When all the treasure they had collected from every quarter was deposited in the ships, a proposal was made to the governor of the province, who still kept the field with nine hundred men, to ransom his capital city. His refusal determined them to burn it, and demolish the citadel. The French, on the festival of St. Louis, were celebrating the anniversary of their king: and in the transports of

their patriotism, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million \* of logwood; a part, and a very considerable one too, of the spoil they had made. After this singular and extravagant instance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boast, they returned to St. Domingo.

BOOK X.

THE little advantage which the English and French free-booters had made by their last expeditions upon the continent, had insensibly led them to have recourse to their usual pyratrical expeditions upon the sea. Both were employed in attacking the ships they met with; when a particular train of circumstances again engaged the French in that course, which every thing had rendered them dissatisfied with.

A new enterprising men had fitted out in 1697, in the ports of France, and under the sanction of government, seven ships of the line, and a proportionate number of inferior vessels. This fleet, commanded by Commodore Pointis, conveyed troops for landing, and its destination was against Carthagena, one of the richest and best fortified towns of the New World. It was expected that this expedition would be attended with great difficulties, but it was hoped that they would be surmounted, if the Buccaneers would assist in it, which they did engage to do, from motives of complaisance to Ducasse, governor of St. Domingo, who was, and deserved to be, their idol.

THESE men, whose boldness could not be restrained, did still more than was expected from them. No sooner had they perceived a small breach in the fortifications of the lower town, than they stormed the place, and planted their

**B O O K** standards upon the walls. They carried the other  
 X  
 work with the same intrepidity. The town sur-  
 rendered, and its submission was owing to the  
 Buccaneers.

ALL kinds of enormities succeeded this event. The general, who was an unjust, covetous, and cruel man, broke every article of the capitulation. Although the apprehensions of an army, that was collecting in the inland country, had made him consent that the inhabitants should keep half of their moveable effects, yet every thing was given up to the most horrible plunder. The officers were the first thieves, and it was not till they had gorged themselves with the spoils, that the soldiers were suffered to ransack the houses. As for the Buccaneers, they were kept in employment out of the town, while the treasure was seized.

POINTIS pretended that the spoils did not exceed seven or eight millions of livres\*. Ducasse valued them at 30,000,000†, and others at 40,000,000‡. The Buccaneers, according to agreement, were to receive one quarter of the whole, whatever it might be. They were however given to understand, that their profit would only amount to 40 000 crowns||.

THE ships had set sail when the proposal was made to these intrepid men, who had decided the victory. Exasperated at this treatment, which so evidently affected their rights, and disappointed their expectations, they resolved immediately to board the vessel called *the Scepter*, where Pointis himself was, and which, at that time, was too far distant from the rest of the ships, to expect to be assisted by them. This infamous com-

\* From 29 666l 13s 4d to 333 333l 6s 8d

† 1 250 000l

‡ 1 666 666l 10s 4d

|| 5000

mander was 'upon the point of being massacred, B O O K  
 when one of the mal-contents cried out : *Brethren,* X.  
*why should we attack this rascal? He hath carried off*  
*nothing that belongs to us. He hath left our share*  
*at Carthagenâ,* and there we must go to recover it.  
 This proposal was 'received with general applause.  
 A 'savage joy at once succeeded that gloomy me-  
 lancholy which had seized them, and without  
 further deliberation 'all their ships sailed towards  
 the city.

As soon as they had entered the city without  
 meeting with any resistance, 'the Buccaneers shut  
 up all the men in the great church, and spoke to  
 them in the following words :

" We are not ignorant that you consider us  
 " as men void of faith, and of all religion, as  
 " infernal beings rather than men. The abhor-  
 " rence you have of us, hath been manifested by  
 " the opprobrious terms with which you affect to  
 " describe us; and your mistrust of us, by your  
 " refusing to treat with us of your capitulation.  
 " You see us here armed, and capable of avenging  
 " ourselves. The paleness visible upon your  
 " countenances plainly shews that you expect the  
 " most severe treatment; and your conscience  
 " tells you, no doubt, that you deserve it. Be  
 " at length undeceived, and acknowledge, in  
 " this instance, that the injurious appellations  
 " with which you stigmatize us, are not to be  
 " applied to us, but to the infamous general un-  
 " der whose command we lately fought. The  
 " traitor to whom we have opened the gates of the  
 " city, which he would never have entered with-  
 " out our assistance, hath seized upon the spoils  
 " acquired at our hazard, and by our courage;  
 " and by this act of injustice hath compelled us  
 " to return to you. Our moderation must jus-  
 " tify our sincerity. We will quit your city im-  
 " mediately,

BOOK X. "mediately, upon your delivering 5,000,000 of  
 "livres\* into our hands. This is the whole of  
 "our claim; and we pledge our honour to you,  
 "that we will instantly retreat. But if you re-  
 "fuse us so moderate a contribution, look at our  
 "sabres: we swear by them, that we will spare  
 "no person; and when the misfortunes which  
 "threaten you shall come upon you, and upon  
 "your wives and children, accuse none but your-  
 "selves and the worthless Pointis, whom you are  
 "at liberty to load with all kinds of execra-  
 "tions."

AFTER this discourse, a sacred orator mounted the pulpit; and made use of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to persuade his hearers to yield up, without reserve, all the gold, silver, and jewels they had. The collection made after the sermon not furnishing the sum required, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houses they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but with no great success; and the instruments of torture were at length produced.

Two of the citizens of the greatest distinction were seized, and after them two more, in order to endeavour to extort from them, where the public money, as well as that of individuals, was concealed. They all answered separately, with so much candour, as well as firmness, that they were ignorant of it, that avarice itself was disarmed. Some muskets were, however, fired off, to induce a belief that these unfortunate men had been shot. Every one apprehended the same fate; and that very evening, one million of livres† was brought in to the free-booters. The following days produced also something more.



Despairing, at length, to add any thing to what they had already amassed, they set sail. Unfortunately they fell in with a fleet of Dutch and English ships, both those nations being then in alliance with Spain, and several of their small vessels were either taken or sunk, the rest escaped to St. Domingo.

SUCH was the last memorable event in the history of the free-booters.

THE separation of the English and French, when the war, on account of the Prince of Orange, divided the two nations: the successful means they both made use of to promote the cultivation of land in their colonies, by the assistance of these enterprising men, the prudence that was shewn, in fixing the most distinguished among them, and intrusting them with civil and military employments: the protection they were under a necessity of affording successively to the Spanish settlements, which, till then, had been a general object of plunder: all these circumstances, and various others, beside the impossibility there was of supplying the place of so many extraordinary men, who were continually dropping off, concurred to put an end to the most singular society that had ever existed. Without any regular system, without laws, without any degree of subordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the astonishment of the age in which they lived, as they will also be of posterity. They would have subdued all America, had they been animated with the spirit of conquest, as they were with that of rapine.

ENGLAND, France, and Holland, had sent, at different times, considerable fleets into the New World. The intemperance of the climate, the want of subsistence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the best concerted schemes unsuccessful.

NEWER

**BOOK** Neither of these nations acquired any national glory, nor made any considerable progress by them. Upon the very scene of their disgrace, and on the very spot where they were so shamefully repulsed, a small number of adventurers, who had no other resources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itself afforded them, succeeded in the most difficult enterprises. They supplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded passion for liberty and independence, excited and kept up in them that energy of soul that enables us to undertake and execute every thing, it produced that vigour, that superiority in action, which the most approved military discipline, the most powerful combinations of strength, the best regulated governments, the most honourable and most striking rewards and marks of distinction, will never be able to excite.

THE principle which actuated these extraordinary and romantic men, is not easily discovered. It cannot be ascribed to want: the earth they trod upon, offered them immense treasures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have squandered away in a day, the spoils acquired in a whole campaign? As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore sacrifice themselves for it's defence, for the aggrandizing of it's territories, or for the avenging of it's quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing such numberless enormities and crimes, which cast a shade on all their brightest actions. Neither could a spirit of indolence and ease ever make men expose themselves to the greatest

WHAT then were the moral causes that gave BOOK  
 rise to so singular a society as that of the free-  
 booters? That country, where nature seems to X  
 have obtained a perpetual and absolute power  
 over the most turbulent passions, where the in-  
 temperate riot and intoxication, occasioned by  
 public festivals, was necessary to rouse men from  
 an habitual state of lethargy, where they lived  
 satisfied with their tedious and indolent course of  
 life that country became at once inhabited by  
 an ardent and impetuous people, who, from the  
 scorching heat of their atmosphere, seemed to  
 have carried their sentiments to the greatest ex-  
 cess, and their passions to a degree of phrenzy.  
 While the heats of a burning climate enervated  
 the old conquerors of the New World, while the  
 Spaniards, who were so restless and turbulent in  
 their own country, enjoyed with the conquered  
 Americans a life habituated to ease and dejection,  
 a set of men, who had come out of the most tem-  
 perate climates in Europe, went under the equator  
 to acquire powers unknown before.

If we should be desirous of tracing the origin of  
 this revolution, we shall perceive that it arises  
 from the freebooters having lived under the  
 shackle of European governments. The spirit  
 of liberty being repressed for so many ages, ex-  
 erted its power to a degree almost inconceivable,  
 and occasioned the most terrible effects that were  
 ever exhibited in the moral world. Restless and  
 enthusiastic men of every nation joined them-  
 selves to these adventurers, as soon as they heard  
 of the success they had met with. The charms  
 of novelty, the idea of mind desire extended by dis-  
 tant objects, the want of a change in situation,  
 the hopes of better fortune, the impulse which  
 excites the imagination to the undertaking of  
 great actions, admiration, which easily induces  
 men

BOOK X men to imitation, the necessity of getting the better of those impediments that are the consequences of imprudence, the force of example, and the being equally partakers of the same good and bad fortune among those who have frequently associated together, in a word, the temporary ferment which all the elements together, with several accidental circumstances, had raised in the minds of men, alternately elevated to the greatest prosperity, or sunk in the deepest distress, at one time stained with blood, at another revelling in voluptuousness, rendered the free booters a people wholly distinct in history, but a people whose duration was so transient, that it's glory lasted, as it were, but a moment

We are, however, accustomed to consider these ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deserve, as the instances of fidelity, integrity, disinterestedness and generosity, they shewed to one another, did not prevent the outrages they perpetually committed against mankind. But amidst such enormities, it is impossible not to be surprised at a variety of brave and noble actions, that would have reflected honour on the most virtuous people.

SOME free booters had agreed, for a certain sum, to escort a Spanish ship, very richly laden. One of them ventured to propose to his companions to enrich themselves at once, by making themselves masters of the ship. Montauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no sooner heard the proposal, than he desired to resign the command, and to be set on shore. What! replied these brave men, would you then leave us? Is there any one among us who approves of the treachery that you abhor? A council was immediately called, and it was determined that the guilty person should be thrown upon

upon the first coast they came to. They took an oath, that so dishonest a man should never be admitted in any expedition, in which any of the brave men present should be concerned, as they would think themselves dishonoured by such a connection. If this be not considered as an instance of heroism, must we then expect to meet with heroes in an age, in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthusiasm?

ACCORDINGLY, the history of past times doth not offer, nor will that of future times ever produce, an example of such an association; which is almost as marvellous as the discovery of the New World. Nothing but this event could have given rise to it, by collecting together, in those distant regions, all the men of the highest impetuosity and energy of soul that had ever appeared in our states.

THEIR sword, and their daring spirit, which they exercised with such terrible effect in America, was the only fortune which these men of so uncommon a stamp possessed in Europe. In America, being enemies to all mankind, and dreaded by all; perpetually exposed to the most extreme dangers, they must necessarily have considered every day as if the last of their life, and they would, consequently, dissipate their wealth in the same manner as they had acquired it. They would give themselves up to all the excesses of debauchery and profusion, and on their return from the fight, the intoxication of their victory would accompany them in their feasts; they would embrace their mistresses in their bloody arms, they would fall asleep, for a while, lulled by voluptuous pleasures, from which they would be routed only to proceed to new massacres. As it was a matter of indifference to them,

**BOOK** them, whether they should leave their bodies  
**X** upon the surface of the earth, or underneath the  
 waters, they must necessarily look upon life, or  
 death, with the same coolness. With a ferocious  
 turn of mind, and a misguided conscience, desti-  
 tute of connections, of relations, of friends, of  
 fellow citizens, of a country, and of an asylum,  
 and without having any of those motives which  
 moderate the ardour of bravery, by the value  
 which they attach to existence, they must neces-  
 sarily have rushed, like men deprived of sight,  
 upon the most desperate attempts. Equally in-  
 capable of submitting to indigence, or to quiet;  
 too proud to employ themselves in common labour,  
 they would have been the scourge of the Old, had  
 they not been that of the New World. Had they  
 not gone to ravage those distant countries, they  
 would have ransacked our provinces, and would  
 have left behind them a name famous in the cata-  
 logue of our greatest villains.

Causes  
 that pre-  
 vented the  
 English  
 and Dutch  
 from mak-  
 ing any  
 conquest in  
 America  
 during the  
 war for the  
 Spanish  
 succession

AMERICA had scarce recovered from the ra-  
 vages she had sustained, she had scarce begun to  
 be sensible of the advantages she derived from the  
 industry of the free booters, who were now be-  
 come citizens and husbandmen, when the Old  
 World exhibited the scene of such a revolution,  
 as alarmed and terrified the New. Charles the  
 Second, king of Spain, had just ended a life of  
 trouble and anxiety. His subjects, persuaded  
 that a descendent of the house of Bourbon alone  
 was able to preserve the monarchy entire, had  
 urged him, towards the close of his life, to ap-  
 point the duke of Anjou his successor. The idea  
 of having the government of two and twenty  
 kingdoms devolve to a family that was not only  
 his rival, but his enemy, had filled him with the  
 most gloomy apprehensions. But after several  
 internal struggles, and numberless marks of irre-  
 solution,

solution, he at length prevailed upon himself to BOOK  
 shew an example of justice, and greatness of soul, X  
 which the natural weakness of his character gave  
 little reason to expect from him

EUROPE, tired out, for half a century, with the  
 haughtiness, ambition, and tyranny of Lewis XIV.  
 exerted it's combined forces to prevent the in-  
 crease of a power already become too formidable  
 The fatal effects of a bad administration had en-  
 tirely enervated the Spaniards, the spirit of lu-  
 perstition, and consequently of weakness, that  
 prevailed then in France, had procured such ad-  
 vantages to the league, as are hardly to be pa-  
 ralleled, in the instance of the union of several  
 powers against a single one This league gained  
 an influence, that was increased by the victories,  
 equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every  
 campaign Both kingdoms were soon left with-  
 out strength or fame To add to their misfor-  
 tunes, their calamities were a general object of joy,  
 and none were touched with a sense of compassion  
 at the miseries they experienced

ENGLAND and Holland, after having profusely  
 lavished their blood and treasures in defence of the  
 Emperor, thought it necessary to attend to their  
 own interests in America This country invited  
 them to rich as well as easy conquests Spain, since  
 the destruction of it's gallies at Vigo, had no  
 ships, and France, after having experienced that  
 fatal reverse of fortune that had reduced her to the  
 lowest ebb, had neglected her navy This inat-  
 tention was owing to a distant cause

LEWIS XIV who, in his earlier age, was am-  
 bitious of every thing that might add to his  
 glory, thought that something would be wanting  
 to the splendour of his reign if he did not  
 establish a considerable naval force His nume-  
 rous fleets were soon in a condition to balance  
 the

**B O O K**  
 X  
 the combined forces of England<sup>d</sup> and of Holland, and conveyed the terror of his name to the extremities of the globe. But he soon lost this new species of grandeur. In proportion as his inordinate ambition drew upon him fresh enemies, as he found himself obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in constant pay, as the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and as his forts became more numerous, the number of his ships decreased. He made use of part of the funds that were destined to support his maritime power, even before his necessities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings, that were either useless or too magnificent, objects of ostentation, or of mere pleasure, and various other causes, equally trifling, absorbed that part of the public revenue, which ought to have been employed in his maritime armaments. From that time, this part of the power of France began to grow weak. It insensibly declined, and was entirely lost in the misfortunes of the war that was raised for the Spanish succession.

At this period, the acquisitions the Spanish and French had made in the West Indies, were not put in a state of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely soon to become the property of Great Britain and the United Provinces; the only modern nations who had established their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vast discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese, had given them, indeed, an exclusive possession of those treasures and productions that seemed to promise them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it. But these nations, intoxicated as they were with the love of gold and the idea of conquest, had never in the least suspected that their posses-  
 sions



sions in the New World could support their power B O O K  
in the Old. The English and Dutch went into X.  
the contrary extreme; building their opinions  
upon the system of the influence they supposed  
America must necessarily give to Europe. A  
system which they not only misapplied, but carried  
to excess.

THESE two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconsiderable ones, had, from the earliest period, discovered the true principles of commerce, and pursued them with greater perseverance than might have been expected from the different situations they had been engaged in. Accidental circumstances having at first animated the industry of the poorest of these nations, she found herself very quickly equalled by her rival power, whose genius was more lively, and whose resources were much greater. The war, occasioned by a spirit of industry, and excited by jealousy, soon degenerated into fierce, obstinate, and bloody engagements. These were not merely such hostilities as are carried on between two different people; they resembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man against another. The necessity they were under of uniting, in order to check and restrain the power of France, suspended these hostilities. The success they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and decisive, revived their former animosity. From the apprehension they were under, that each state was labouring for the aggrandizement of the other, they entirely neglected the invasion of America. Queen Anne, at length, availing herself of a favourable opportunity for concluding a separate peace, procured such advantageous terms, as gave the English a great superiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time, England became

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X.

Remark-  
able acti-  
vity that  
prevailed  
in the  
islands of  
America  
after the  
peace of  
Utrecht.

came of the greatest importance in the political system of Europe, and Holland was totally disregarded.

THE years succeeding the peace of Utrecht revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a sufficient state of tranquillity, if the Europeans did not disturb it's peace, by carrying their arms and their dissensions into every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies. The harvest of the husbandman was not laid waste. The sailor ventured to sail in every sea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more saw their children forced from them, to lavish their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch, or an ambitious minister. Nations did no longer unite to gratify the passions of their sovereigns. For some time, men lived together as brethren, as much, at least, as the pride of princes, and the avidity of the people would allow.

ALTHOUGH this general happiness was to be attributed to those who held the reins of government, yet the improvement of reason contributed, in some degree, to produce it. Philosophy then began to lay open and recommend the sentiments of benevolence. The writings of some philosophers had been made public, or dispersed among the people, and contributed to polish and refine their manners. The spirit of moderation had inspired men with the love of the more useful and pleasing arts of life, and abated, at least, the desire they till then had of destroying one another. The thirst of blood seemed to be assuaged, and all nations, with the assistance of the discoveries they had made, ardently set about the improvement of their population, agriculture, and manufactures.

THIS spirit of activity exerted itself principally in the Caribbee Islands. The states upon the continent can subsist, and even flourish, when the rage of war is kindled in their neighbourhood and on their frontiers, because the principal object of their attention is the culture of their lands, their manufactures, their subsistence and internal consumptions. This is not the case with regard to those settlements which different nations have formed in the Great Archipelago of America. In these; life and property are equally precarious. None of the necessaries of life are the natural produce of the climate. Wearing apparel, and the instruments of husbandry, are not even made in the country: All their commodities are intended for exportation. Nothing but an easy and safe communication with Africa, with the northern coasts of the New World, but principally with Europe, can procure to these islands that free circulation of the necessaries of life they receive, and of those superfluities they give in exchange. The more the colonists had suffered from the effects of that long and dreadful commotion that had thrown every thing into confusion, the greater was their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the losses their fortunes had sustained. The very hopes entertained that the general weakness would insure a lasting tranquillity, encouraged the most cautious merchants, to supply the colonists with goods in advance; a circumstance that contributed greatly to quicken the progress they made, which, notwithstanding all their care and attention, would otherwise have been very slow. These assistances insured as well as increased the prosperity of the islands, till a storm, that had been a long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739, and disturbed the peace of the world.

BOOK  
IX

The islands of America are the cause of the war in 1739. Event in that war, and the termination of it.

THE English colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spanish settlements in the New World, which custom had long made them consider as lawful. The court of Madrid, becoming better acquainted with it's interests, concerted measures to put a stop to, or at least to check, this intercourse. The plan might possibly be prudent; but it was necessary it should be carried into execution with equity. If the ships that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only seized upon those vessels that were concerned in it, this measure would have deserved commendation. But the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and perhaps too, a spirit of revenge, incited them to stop, under the pretence of their carrying on a contraband trade, many ships which in reality had a legal destination.

ENGLAND, whose security, power and glory is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently suffer even her usurpations to be restrained; but was highly incensed when she found that these hostilities were carried to an excess inconsistent with the law of nations. In London, and in the house of parliament, general complaints were made against the authors of them, and invectives against the minister who suffered them. Walpole, who had long ruled Great Britain, and whose character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spanish council which shewed less spirit as the storm increased, concerted together terms of reconciliation. Those fixed upon, and signed at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by it's interests, it's resentments, and by party spirit, and especially by the number of political writings that were constantly published on the subject.

THE

THE sovereign of any country, who forbids the liberty of discussing publicly matters of administration, and politics, gives an authentic attestation of his propensity to tyranny, and of the impropriety of his measures. It is just as if he were to say to the people: "I know full as well as you do, that what I have determined upon is contrary to your liberty, your prerogatives, your interest, your tranquillity, and your happiness; but I do not chuse that you should murmur at it. I will never suffer you to be enlightened, because it is convenient to me that you should remain in that state of stupidity, which will prevent you from discerning my caprices, my vanity, my extravagant dissipations, my ostentation, the depredations of my courtiers and of my favourites, my ruinous amusements, and my still more ruinous passions, from the public good, which never was, is not, nor ever will be, as far as depends upon me and my successors, every thing more than a decent pretence. Every thing I do is well done, you may either believe or not, as you choose, but you must be silent. I will prove to you, by all the most extravagant and atrocious measures, that I reign for myself alone, and neither by you, nor for you. And if any one of you should be rash enough to contradict me, let him perish in the obscurity of a dungeon, or let him be strangled, that he may for ever be deprived of the powers of committing a similar act of indiscretion; for such is my will and pleasure." In consequence of such declarations, a man of genius must be either silent or be put to death; and a nation must be kept in a state of barbarism, with respect to their religion, their laws, their morals, and their government, and in the ignorance of the most important things relative to

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X.

their real interests, to their power, to their trade, to their splendour, and to their felicity; while all the nations around are improving themselves by the daring efforts, and the concurrence of numbers of enlightened men, whose views are directed to those objects alone that are really worthy of their attention. The reasoning of an administration, which prohibits information, is defective in every particular; the progress of improvement is not to be stopt, nor even to be checked, without manifest disadvantage. Prohibition hath no other effect than to irritate men, and to inspire them with an idea of rebellion, and to give to all their writings a libellous tendency. It is doing too much honour to innocent subjects, to be alarmed at a few pages of writing, when two hundred thousand assassins are ready to execute the orders of government.

ENGLAND teems daily with numberless productions of the press, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among these writings some are judicious, written by men of understanding, of citizens well informed and zealous for the public good. Their advice contributes to discover to the public their true interests, and to assist the operations of government. Few useful regulations of internal œconomy are adopted in the state, that have not first been pointed out, modelled, or improved in some of these writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of such an advantage.

But it may be said, that among the few sensible men who serve to enlighten their country, numbers are to be met with, who either from a disgust to those in power, or from a desire of falling in with the taste of the people, or from some personal motives, delight in fomenting a spirit of dissension and discontent. The means  
‘ gene-

generally made use of for this purpose, are to  
 heighten the pretensions of their country beyond  
 their just and legal bounds, and to make the peo-  
 ple consider the smallest precautions taken by  
 other powers for the preservation of their pos-  
 sessions, as visible incroachments. These exag-  
 gerations, equally partial, and false, establish  
 prejudices, the effects of which occasion the na-  
 tion to be constantly at war with it's neighbours.  
 If government, from a desire of preserving the  
 balance of justice between itself and other  
 powers, should refuse to yield to popular pre-  
 judices, it finds itself, at length, compelled to  
 it.

THE liberty of the press is undoubtedly attend-  
 ed with these inconveniences; but they are so  
 trifling, and so transient, when compared with  
 the advantages resulting from it, that they do  
 not deserve our notice. The question is reduced  
 to this: *Is it better that a people should be in a perpe-  
 tual state of stupidity, than that they should be some-  
 times turbulent?* Sovereigns, if ye mean to be  
 wicked, suffer your people to write; you will find  
 men corrupt enough to serve you according to  
 your evil desires; and who will improve you in  
 the art of a Tiberius. If ye mean to be good,  
 permit them also to write; you will find some ho-  
 nest men who will improve you in the art of a  
 Trajan. How many things are ye still igno-  
 rant of, before ye can become great, either in good  
 or in evil.

THE mob of London, the most contemptible  
 of any in the universe, as the people of England  
 considered in a political view, are the first people  
 in the world; abetted by twenty thousand young  
 men, the sons of distinguished merchants, beset  
 the parliament house with clamours and threats,  
 and influence it's deliberations. Such tumults are  
 frequently

**B O O K** frequently excited by a party in the parliament  
 X itself These despicable men, once roused, revile  
 the most respectable citizen, who hath incurred  
 their displeasure, and been rendered suspicious to  
 them they set fire to his house, and scandalously  
 insult the most sacred characters The tumult can  
 never be appeased, unless they force the ministry  
 to yield to their fury This indirect, though con-  
 tinual influence of commerce upon the public  
 measures, was, perhaps, never so sensibly felt as  
 at the period we are speaking of

ENGLAND began the war with much superior  
 advantages She had a great number of sailors  
 on foot Her magazines were filled with warlike  
 stores, and her dock yards were in the most flour-  
 ishing condition Her fleets were all manned  
 and ready for service, and commanded by experi-  
 enced officers, who waited only for orders to set  
 sail, and to spread the terror and glory of her flag  
 to the extremities of the world Walpole, by ne-  
 glecting such great advantages, must not be cen-  
 sured as having betrayed his country In this  
 particular he is above suspicion, since he was ne-  
 ver even accused of corruption, in a country where  
 such charges have been often made without being  
 believed His conduct, however, was not entirely  
 irreproachable The apprehension he was under  
 of involving himself in difficulties that might en-  
 danger his administration, the necessity he found  
 of applying those treasures in military operations,  
 that he had amassed to bribe and secure to himself  
 a party, joined to that of imposing new taxes,  
 which must necessarily raise to the highest degree  
 the aversion that had been entertained both for his  
 person and principles all these, and some other  
 circumstances, occasioned an irresolution in his  
 conduct that was attended with the most fatal  
 consequences He lost time, which is of the utmost  
 impor



importance in every expedition, but particularly B O O K  
decisive in all naval operations. X.

THE fleet that Vernon commanded, after having destroyed Porto-Bello, was unsuccessful at Carthagena, rather from the badness of the climate, and the misunderstanding and inexperience of the officers, than from the valour of the garrison. Anson's fleet was lost at the doubling of Cape Horn, which some months sooner might have been performed without danger. If we were to judge of what he might have done with his whole squadron, from what he actually performed with a single ship, it is not improbable but that he would at least have shaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South Sea. A settlement that was attempted in the island of Cuba was not prosperous. Those who intended building a city there, all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-eight days, was forced to raise the siege of fort St. Austin in Florida, vigorously defended by Manuel Montiano, who had been allowed time enough to prepare himself against the attack.

THOUGH the first efforts of the English against Spanish America were not successful, yet the alarm was not appeased. The navy, the character, and government of the English, were three great resources they had still left, sufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with those of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animated the minds of such as were overwhelmed with fear. Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the emperor Charles the VIth had kindled in Europe an obstinate war, in which the British troops were detained, to support an interest that was extremely doubtful. The hostilities,

BOOK X. ties, commenced in distant countries with such great preparations, terminated at last insensibly in a few piracies, that were committed on both sides. The most remarkable events that happened at that time, was the taking of Cape-Breton, which exposed the fishery, commerce, and colonies of France, to the greatest dangers. This valuable possession was restored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up, was not less the object of censure.

THE French ever influenced by a spirit of chivalry, that hath so long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the sacrifice of their lives sufficiently compensated, if it hath contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to say, when they have compelled their prince to the necessity of governing them with less attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the same as it was before the war, they then think their honour is lost. This rage for conquest, excusable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones should never be reproached with, threw disgrace on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored to Austria all the places that had been taken from her. The nation, too trifling and capricious to attend to political discussions, could not be convinced, that by forming any kind of establishment for the Infant Don Philip, an alliance with Spain was effectually secured; that she herself was thereby engaged to adjust, with the house of Austria, some interests of the greatest importance; that by becoming guarantees to the king of Prussia for Silesia, two rival powers would, in consequence of such an arrangement, be formed in Germany; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries: that by restoring Freiburg, and those towns in Flanders that had been destroyed,

stroyed, they would be easily retaken, if war BOOK  
 should again be declared and carried on with vi- X.  
 gour: besides, that the number of land forces  
 might always be very easily diminished of fifty-  
 thousand men, and the saving which such a re-  
 duction would produce, might and ought to have  
 been employed in increasing the navy.

If, therefore, the French nation had not even  
 been obliged to attend to the management of it's  
 affairs at home, which were then in a very alarm-  
 ing state; if her credit and commerce had not  
 been entirely ruined; if some of her most confi-  
 derable provinces had not been in the greatest dis-  
 tress; if she had not lost the key of Canada; if her  
 colonies had not been threatened with certain and  
 immediate invasion; if her navy had not been so  
 entirely destroyed, as scarcely to have a ship left  
 to send into the New World; and if Spain had not  
 been upon the point of concluding a separate trea-  
 ty with England: independent of all these cir-  
 cumstances, yet the peace, that was then made,  
 would have deserved the approbation of the most  
 sensible and judicious men.

The ease with which Marshal Saxe could pene-  
 trate into the internal provinces of the Nether-  
 lands, was an object that particularly attracted  
 the French. It will readily be allowed, that no-  
 thing seemed impossible to the victorious arms of  
 Lewis XV.; but it may be thought paradoxical  
 to assert, that the English were extremely desirous  
 of seeing the Dutch subdued. If the republic,  
 which could not possibly separate itself from it's  
 allies, had been conquered, it's inhabitants,  
 filled as they were with ancient as well as present  
 prejudices against the government, laws, man-  
 ners and religion of their conqueror, would hardly  
 have submitted to his dominion. Would they not  
 certainly have conveyed their people, their stock,  
 and

**B O O K** <sup>X</sup> and their industry to Great Britain? And can there be the least doubt whether such considerable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the English, than an alliance with the Dutch?

To this observation let us venture to add another, which though not attended to before, will, perhaps, not seem less evident. The court of Vienna hath been thought either very fortunate, or very skilful, in having been able, by the means of negotiations, to wrest out of the hands of the French those places which had been taken from them during the war. But would they not have been more fortunate, or more skilful, had they suffered their enemy to keep part of the conquests they had obtained? The period is now passed, when the house of Austria was equal, or perhaps superior in strength to the house of Bourbon. Policy, therefore, should have engaged her to interest other powers in her fortune, even from the losses she had sustained. This might have been effected by sacrificing something, apparently, at least, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increasing power of this monarchy, which is naturally an object of hatred, envy and fear, would have renewed that spirit of animosity that had been sworn against Lewis XIV., and more formidable leagues would necessarily have been formed in consequence of such sentiments. This general disposition of the people was more likely to have recovered the greatness of the new house of Austria, than the re acquisition of a distant and limited territory, always open to an attack.

It is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary who managed the negotiation, as well as the minister who directed it, would have seen through the artifice. We do not even scruple to assert, that neither of these statesmen had any

any view of extending the French dominions. But <sup>B O O K</sup>  
 would they have found the same penetration to <sup>X.</sup>  
 unravel political designs in the council, to which  
 they were responsible for their conduct? This is  
 a point we cannot presume to determine. All go-  
 vernments are generally inclined to extend their  
 territories; and that of France is, from it's consti-  
 tution, equally so.

But whatever truth there may be in these re-  
 flections, it must be allowed, that the expectations  
 of the two French ministers, who settled the peace,  
 were disappointed. The principal object they had  
 in view was the preservation of the colonies, that  
 had been threatened by the enemy. But as soon  
 as the danger was over, this unbounded source of  
 opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a  
 large body of troops, retained in her pay a great  
 part of Germany, and acted in the same manner  
 as if another Charles V. had threatened her  
 frontiers, or another Philip II. could have thrown  
 the internal parts of the kingdom into con-  
 fusion by his intrigues. She was not sensible that  
 her superiority upon the continent was acknow-  
 ledged, that no single power could venture to at-  
 tack her; and that the event of the last war, and  
 the arrangements settled by the last peace, had  
 rendered the union of several powers against her  
 impossible. A number of apprehensions, equally  
 weak and trifling, disturbed her tranquillity. Her  
 prejudices prevented her from perceiving that she  
 had only one enemy really deserving her attention,  
 and that this enemy could only be restrained by a  
 considerable fleet.

THE English, more inclined to envy the pro-  
 sperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not  
 only desirous of becoming rich, but of being ex-  
 clusively so. Their ambition is gain, as that of  
 the Romans was empire. They do not properly  
 seek

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her conquests and her literary merit, and even to the dispersion of the Protestants she had unfortunately lost, for the desire excited in other countries of imitating her: this nation, that would be too happy, were she permitted to enjoy her happiness, would not perceive that she might be deprived of some of these advantages, and insensibly fell a sacrifice to those arts employed to lull her into security. When the English thought there was no further occasion to dissemble, they commenced hostilities, without having previously paid any attention to those formalities that are in use among civilized people.

DID the nation, which is reckoned so proud, so humane, and so prudent, reflect upon what was doing? It reduced the most sacred conventions of nations among themselves, to the artifices of a perfidious policy; it freed them from the common tie that connects them, by discarding the chimerical idea of the right of nations. Did these people perceive, that they were fixing a constant state of war; that they were making peace a time of apprehension only; that they were introducing on the globe nothing but a false and deceitful security; that sovereigns were becoming so many wolves, ready to devour each other; that the empire of discord was becoming unbounded; that the most cruel and most just reprisals were authorized; and that arms were no longer to be laid aside? At that time there was a half Themistocles in the ministry; but there was not one Aristides in all Great Britain; since, far from exclaiming, in imitation of the Athenians, who were not themselves the most scrupulous men among the Greeks: *The thing is useful, but it is not honest, let it be mentioned no more*: the English, on the contrary, congratulated themselves upon an ignominious

nominous act, against which the voice of all Europe was raised with indignation. Acts of hostility, without a declaration of war, when there is even no treaty of peace subsisting, is the proceeding of barbarians. Hostilities, against the faith of treaties, but preceded by a declaration of war, by what pretence soever it may be palliated, would be a disgusting act of injustice, if the habit of it had not been frequent, and if the shame of it did not light upon almost all the powers. Hostilities, without a declaration of war, against a neighbouring people, who are quietly reposing themselves upon the faith of treaties, upon the right of nations, upon a reciprocal intercourse of good-will, upon civilized manners, upon the same God, upon the same worship, upon the reciprocal residence and protection granted to the citizens of both nations in their respective countries: such hostilities are a crime, which, in every society, would be treated as murder on the highway; and if there were any express code against it, as there is a tacit one, formed and subscribed to between all nations, we should then read the following sentence: **LET US ALL UNITE AGAINST THE TRAITOR, AND LET HIM BE EXTERMINATED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH.** The nation that commits such a crime, pursues it's interest with unbounded and shameless jealousy; it shews that it is destitute of equity and honour; that it despises equally the judgment of the present time, and the censure of posterity; and that it hath more regard for it's existence among nations, than for the colours it will be painted in, in their history. If it be the strongest, it is a mean tyrant; it is a lion, which debases itself to act the abject part of a fox. If it be the weakest, and be apprehensive for itself, it may, perhaps, be less odious, but it is equally base. How much more noble, and

B O O K

X

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BOOK <sup>X</sup> and how much more advantageous, was the custom of the Roman people! Let us open, as they did, the gates of our temples, let an ambassador be sent to the enemy's frontiers, and there let him declare war, by shaking the skirts of his garments, at the sound of the trumpet of the herald that attends him. Let us not massacre an enemy that sleeps. If we dip our hand into the blood of him who thinks himself our friend, the stain of it will never be wiped off. It will always call to mind the Macbeth of the poet.

THOUGH a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which seem to be bound by no ties as soon as they intend to massacre one another, yet it is very evident, that the British ministry were more than doubtful of the injustice of their conduct. The timidity of their measures, the perplexity of their operations, the prevaricating modes of justification they adopted, and the influence they in vain exerted to make parliament approve so scandalous a violation, these, with several other circumstances, plainly discovered the guilt of their proceeding. If those weak ministers of so great a power had been as bold in committing crimes, as they appeared regardless of the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the most extensive nature. When they unjustly gave orders to attack all the French ships upon the northern coast of America, they would have extended these orders to every sea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any resistance, would have been the necessary consequence of such a strong confederacy. Its fall would have intimidated all other nations, and wherever the English flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A success so remarkable and decisive would have made the multi-

multitude overlook the violation of public right, B O O K  
would have justified it to the political world, and X.-  
the remonstrances of the wise would have been lost  
in the clamours of the ignorant and ambitious.

A TIMID but equally unjustifiable conduct, The be-  
was attended with very contrary effects. The ginning of  
council of George II. was hated, as well as de- the war is  
spised, over all Europe; and the events cor- unfavour-  
responded to these sentiments. France, though able to the  
unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, English.  
gained considerable advantages by sea, took Mi-  
norca, and threatened London itself. Her rival  
was then sensible of the truth of what men of un-  
derstanding had long since observed in England,  
that the French united the greatest contraries  
in their character; that they blended virtues and  
vices, marks of weakness and strength that had  
always been thought inconsistent with each other;  
that they were brave, though effeminate; equally  
addicted to pleasure and glory; serious in trifles,  
and trifling in matters of importance; ever dis-  
posed to war, and ready to attack: in a word,  
mere children, suffering themselves, as the Athe-  
nians of old, to be disquieted and moved to anger  
for real or imaginary interests; fond of enter-  
prise and action, ready to follow any guide, and  
comforted in the greatest misfortunes with the  
most trifling success. The English, who, ac-  
cording to a vulgar, though strong expression of  
Swift's, are *always in the cellar or in the garret*,  
and know no medium, began then to be too  
much afraid of a nation that they had unjustly  
despised. A spirit of despondency succeeded to  
that of presumption.

THE nation, corrupted by the too great con-  
fidence it had placed in its opulence; humbled  
by the introduction of foreign troops, and by the  
moral character and inability of its governors;

**B O O X** Krigour of the law. His own ship was fixed upon as the spot where the sentence passed upon him was to be put in execution. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was struck with astonishment, blended with admiration and horror. It recalled the memory of the ancient republics. The death of Byng, whether guilty or not, proclaimed in the most alarming manner to those who were employed by the nation, what fate they must expect, if they betrayed the confidence reposed in them. Every man said to himself, in the instant of battle. It is on this field I must die, rather than with infamy on a scaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accused of cowardice, was productive of a spirit of heroism.

THIS system of holding out an example of terror to subdue the impressions of fear, was further strengthened by an emulation, that seemed to promise the revival of public spirit. Dissipation, pleasure, indolence, and often vice and a corruption of manners, occasion warm and frequent connections in most kingdoms of Europe. The English have less intercourse and connection with each other; they have, perhaps, less taste for social life than other nations, but the idea of any project that may be serviceable to the state, immediately unites them, and they seem, as it were, animated by one soul. All ranks, parties, and sects, contribute to insure its success, and with such liberality as cannot be paralleled in those places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail.

AND, in fact, why should we be concerned for the glory of a nation, when we can expect no other return for the sacrifices we make, than an increase of misery, when victories and defeats are equally fatal, victories, by giving rise to taxes to pave the way for them, and defeats, by occasioning taxes

taxes to repair them? If there were not some <sup>BOOK</sup> little remains of honour subsisting in us, in spite <sup>X</sup> of all the efforts that are made use of to stifle it, and which proves, that under vexations of every kind, the people still retain some feeling for the disgrace of the nation, they would be equally affected with it's prosperity or it's misfortunes. Will they experience better treatment; whether the sovereign be victorious or conquered; whether he acquire or lose a province; whether trade should fall or prosper? The zeal of the English is more remarkably distinguished, when the nation hath placed an implicit confidence in the minister who hath the direction of public measures. As soon as Mr. Pitt was made prime minister, a marine society was established, which, perceiving that there appeared a remissness in general to enter into the sea service, and disapproving the custom of pressing men into it, invited the children of the poorest class in the three kingdoms to become ship boys, and their fathers sailors. They undertook to pay the expences of their voyage; to take care of them in sickness; to feed, clothe, and furnish them with every thing necessary to preserve their health during the time they were to be at sea. The king, moved by this instance of patriotism, gave them 22,500 livres\*; the prince of Wales 9,000 livres†, and the princess of Wales 4,500‡. The actors of the different theatres, whose abilities have not been treated with contempt by this enlightened nation, acted their best plays for the increase of so respectable an establishment. The theatres were never so much crowded as on this occasion. A hundred of these ship boys, and a hundred of the sailors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be holden sacred, appeared upon the stage; a decora-

\* 937l. 10s.

† 375l.

‡ 187l. 10s.

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weakened too by the collision of factions, which keep up an exertion of strength among a free people in times of peace, but which destroy their power in times of war the nation, disgraced, astonished, and uncertain what measures to pursue, equally sensible of the distresses it had already been exposed to, as of those it foresaw, was incapable of exerting itself to avenge the one, or prevent the other. All zeal for the common cause was confined to the granting of immense supplies. That the coward is sooner disposed to part with his money than the brave man, in order to ward off danger, and that the present critical situation of affairs required them not to consider who should pay, but who should stand forward to fight, these were truths, which, at that time, seemed to have been forgotten.

THE French, on their part, were dazzled with some instances of success that were of no consequence. Presuming, that the surprise their enemies had been thrown into, was a proof of their weakness, they involved themselves further than was consistent with their interest, in the disturbances which then began to divide the German powers.

A SYSTEM, which, if unsuccessful, must have been attended with the greatest disgrace, and if fortunate, must have been destructive in the end, served to confound them. Their levity made them forget, that a few months before they had applauded the wise and enlightened statesman, who, being desirous to avoid a land war, which some ministers were willing to enter into, from their despairing of success at sea, had, with the vivacity and confidence peculiar to genius, addressed himself to them in the following words. *Gentlemen, said he, let us all, who are here present in council, go out, with torches in our hands, and set fire to all our ships, if they are useless to our defence, and are*  
or,

*only conducive to make our enemies insult us.* This BOOK  
X. political infatuation threw them into the greatest difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed by military faults. The management of the army was subjected to the intrigues of the court. A series of bad success was the consequence of a perpetual change of commanders. This light and superficial nation did not perceive, that even supposing, what indeed was impossible, that all those who were successively intrusted with the direction of the military operations, had really been men of abilities, yet they could not contend with advantage against a man of genius, assisted by one of distinguished capacity. Misfortunes made no alteration in the plan that had been formed, and the changes of generals were endless.

WHILE the French were thus deceived, the English, from a spirit of dejection, were inflamed with the utmost resentment: they changed a minister who had justly excited general dissatisfaction, and placed at the head of affairs a man who was equally an enemy to timid measures, to the royal prerogative, and to France. Although this choice was the consequence of that spirit of party which causes the greatest revolutions in England, yet it was such as the circumstances of the times required. William Pitt, had a soul formed for great designs; was distinguished by a species of eloquence that never failed to captivate his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterprising. He was ambitious to make his country rise superior to all others, and at the same time to raise his own fame. His enthusiasm fired a nation, which will always be inspired by a love of liberty. The admiral who had suffered Minorca to be taken, was arrested, thrown into prison, accused, tried, and sentenced to death. Neither his rank, abilities, family, nor friends, could protect him from the

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The Eng-  
lish are  
roused  
from their  
lethargy,  
and seize  
the French  
and Span-  
ish island  
Account of  
the author  
of these  
successes

tion this surely, not inferior to that arising from the multitude of lights, the elegance of dress, and the brilliancy of jewels

THIS public zeal and attachment to the interests of the nation, animated the minds of all the English, and the effects of it were displayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coasts of their enemies, beat them every where by sea, intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Westphalia. They drove them out of North America, Africa, and the East Indies. Till Mr Pitt became minister, all the expeditions of the nation, made in distant countries, had been unsuccessful, and must necessarily have been so, because they had been ill concerted. He, on the contrary planned such prudent and useful designs, his preparations were conducted with so much foresight and dispatch, his means were so well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain, he made such a prudent choice of the persons whom he intrusted with his designs, he established such harmony between the land and sea forces, and raised the spirits of the English to such a height, that his whole administration was a series of conquests. His mind, still superior to his glory, made him despise the idle clamours of those, who censured what they called his profusions. He used to say with Philip, father of Alexander the Great, *That victory was to be purchased by money, and that money must not be spared at the expence of victory*

By such a conduct, and such principles, Mr Pitt had at all times, and in all places, triumphed over the French. He pursued them to their most valuable islands, even to their sugar colonies. These possessions, so justly prized for their riches, were not, however, better secured. The fortifications that were erected there, were constructed without judgment, and were falling to decay



These ruins were equally destitute of defenders, BOOK  
X. of arms, and of ammunition. Ever since the beginning of hostilities, all intercourse between these great settlements and the mother-country, had been at an end. They could neither receive subsistence from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings necessary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The masters and the slaves, equally destitute of the necessaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle destined for the labours of husbandry. If any rapacious navigators ever reached them, it was through so many dangers, that the colonists were obliged to pay for what they bought of these traders at a very advanced price, and to give them in exchange whatever they consented to take from them at the lowest. Though the colonists did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their assistance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachment to their mother-country would induce them to make a vigorous defence against an enemy, that might put an end to their distresses.

In this situation of affairs, ten ships of the line, some bomb ketches and frigates, with five thousand land-forces, sailed from England, and arrived at Guadalupe. They appeared before the town, on the 22d of January 1759, and the next day bombarded the town of Basse-Terre. If the besiegers had known how to take advantage of the terror they had spread, the island would have made a very short resistance: but the slowness, timidity, and irresolution of their operations afforded the garrison and the inhabitants leisure to fortify themselves in a pass that was only at the distance of two leagues from the place. From this spot they stopped the progress of the enemy, who were equally distressed from the heat of the climate and the want of provisions. The English, despairing of

BOOK of making themselves masters of the colony on this side, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, known by the name of Grande Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made still less resistance than that of Bassé Terre, that had surrendered in four and twenty hours. The conquerors were again guilty of the error they had before fallen into, and suffered the same inconveniences from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who succeeded to the command at the death of Hopson, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-embarked his soldiers, who successively attacked the houses and villages upon the coasts. The ravages they committed, obliged the colonists to submit. The whole island, after three months defence, surrendered on the 21st day of April, upon very honourable terms of capitulation.

THE troops that had obtained this victory did not engage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great Britain revived a design that had been too hastily given up, but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, under the command of general Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line commanded by admiral Rodney, the first sent from North America, and the latter from Europe, appeared before the capital of the island. The landing of the troops the next day was soon effected, without difficulty and without loss. To take possession of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, seemed to be a matter not so easily accomplished. These obstacles, however, were after some warm engagements surmounted, and the place that would soon have been reduced

reduced to ashes by the bombs, capitulated on the 9th of February; and the whole colony did the same on the 13th. It is probable that the prosperity of Guadalupe under the British government, contributed to bring about this general surrender; which might, and ought to have been delayed longer. Granada and the other Leeward Islands, whether subject to France, or *which, though peopled by Frenchmen, were neutral*, surrendered themselves, without making any resistance.

EVEN St. Domingo, the only possession the French still retained in the Archipelago of America, was likely to fall into the hands of the English; and its loss seemed to be not far distant. If it had not even been known that this was the first conquest Great Britain would attempt, yet it could not be supposed that it would escape its avidity. Would this ambitious nation have checked the career of its own successes so far as to give up all thoughts of a conquest that would have completed its prosperity? This was a point that seemed not to admit of a doubt: The colony was generally known to be entirely without any means of defence, either within or without, and therefore incapable of making the least resistance. It was so sensible of its weakness, that it seemed disposed to surrender as soon as it should be summoned to do it.

THE court of Versailles was equally astonished and alarmed at the losses it had sustained, and at those it foresaw. It had expected such an obstinate resistance as would have been superior to every attack. The descendants of those brave adventurers, who had settled these colonies, seemed a rampart sufficient to repel all the forces of the British empire. They almost felt a secret satisfaction that the English were directing their efforts towards

BOOK X. towards that quarter. The ministry had inspired the nation with the same confidence that possessed them, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to shew the least uneasiness.

It is an observation we may now be permitted to make, that events, which have once happened, will happen again. A people whose whole fortune consists in fields and pastures will, if influenced by any degree of spirit, resolutely defend their possessions. The harvest of one year is the utmost they can lose, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not distress them to such a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The case is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of these colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the risk of having the labours of their whole lives destroyed, their slaves carried off, and all the hopes of their posterity either lost by fire or plunder: they will therefore always submit to the enemy. Though satisfied with the government under which they live, they are less attached to it's glory than to their own riches.

THE example of the first colonists, whose perseverance could not be shaken by the most vigorous attacks, does not affect the truth of this observation. The object of the war was then the acquisition of territory; and the expulsion of the inhabitants; at present, a war waged against a colony is directed only against the sovereign of it.

THE plan of attacking Martinico was hid by Mr. Pitt, though he was not in the ministry when it was subdued. The resignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deserves to be considered by every one, who investigates the causes and effects of political revolutions. An historian, who ventures to write the transactions of his own age, hath seldom, it must be granted, suffi-

sufficient lights to guide him.' The councils of <sup>B O O K</sup>  
 kings are so secret, that time alone can gradually <sup>X.</sup>  
 withdraw the veil that surrounds them. Their  
 ministers, faithful depositaries of the secrets they  
 have been intrusted with, or interested to conceal  
 them, explain themselves no further than is suffi-  
 cient to mislead the curious inquirer, who wishes  
 to discover them. Whatever penetration he may  
 possess, in tracing the source and connection of  
 events, he is at last reduced to conjecture. If his  
 conjectures happen to be just, still he is ignorant  
 that they are so, or cannot depend upon them;  
 and this uncertainty is scarcely more satisfactory  
 than a total ignorance. He must, therefore, wait  
 till prudence and interest, freed from the restraint  
 of silence, shall unfold the truth; in a word, 'till  
 some valuable and original records be produced  
 for public inspection, wherein the latent springs on  
 which the destiny of nations hath depended, shall  
 be discovered.

*THESE reflections should suspend the inquiries*  
 of the man who wants only to attend to the pro-  
 gress of political intrigues. They are dissolved as  
 soon as they are formed. We could only collect  
 separate parts of them, which could not be  
 brought together unless by conjecture, which  
 might be the further distant from the truth, in  
 proportion as more sagacity had been displayed  
 in the forming of it. We should often be likely  
 to fill up with some great view, or with some  
 profound speculation, a vacancy which presents  
 itself, from our ignorance of some witticism, of  
 some frivolous caprice, of some trifling resent-  
 ment, or of some childish emotion of jealousy;  
 for these are the wonderful levers with which the  
 earth hath so often been moved, and will still be  
 moved hereafter. If it be then prudent to say  
 nothing of the obscure causes of events, it is at  
 least

BOOK <sup>X.</sup> least the time to speak of the character of those who have conducted them. We know what they were in their infancy, in their youth, in a more mature age, in their family and in society, in private life, and in public affairs. We know what their natural and acquired talents were; their ruling passions, their vices, their virtues, their inclinations and their aversions; their connections, their animosities, and their friendships; their personal and relative interests; the marks of favour or disgrace they have experienced; the means they have employed to obtain their high posts, and to maintain themselves in them; the conduct they have observed with regard to their protectors and their dependents; the projects they have conceived, and the manner in which they have executed them; the character of the men they have employed; the obstacles they have met with, and the manner in which they have surmounted them: in a word, we know the success they have had; the reward they have obtained in consequence of it; the punishment they have suffered when they have miscarried; the praise or blame bestowed upon them by the nation; the manner in which they have ended their career, and the reputation they have left behind them after death.

We are desirous of penetrating into the soul of one of the greatest men of his age, and perhaps we can never do it at a more proper time. The most conspicuous actions only of a man's life are transmitted to posterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of a variety of simple and artless details, that enlighten the mind of an observer, who lived at the time they happened.

MR. PITT, after having rescued England from the kind of disgrace it had been exposed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of success that astonished all the world. Whether he foresaw

forefaw this or not, he did not feem to be embar-<sup>B O O K</sup>  
 raffed with it, and refolved to carry it as far as he <sup>X</sup>  
 could. The moderation which fo many ftatemen  
 had affected before him, feemed to him to be only  
 a pretence to conceal their weaknefs or their indo-  
 lence. *He thought that all ftates fhould exert*  
*their power to the utmoft, and that there was no*  
*inftance of one nation being able to become fupe-*  
*rior to another, and not effecting it.* The parallel  
 he drew between England and France confirmed  
 him in his opinion. He perceived with uneafinefs,  
 that the power of England, founded upon a trade  
 which fhe might and would lofe, was very in-  
 confiderable, when compared with that of her ri-  
 val; which nature, art, and particular circum-  
 ftances had raifed to fuch a degree of ftrength;  
 under favourable adminiftrations, as had made  
 all Europe tremble. Senfible of this truth, he  
 therefore determined to deprive France of her co-  
 lonies, and to reduce her to that ftate, to which  
 the freedom of the New World, fooner or later  
 accomplifhed, will bring all nations that have  
 formed fettlements there.

THE means neceffary to complete this project,  
 which was fo far advanced, appeared to him ab-  
 folutely certain. While the imagination of weak  
 minds took fhadows for realities, the greateft dif-  
 ficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the  
 nation, of which he was the idol, was fometimes  
 alarmed at his vaft and uncommon enterprifes, he  
 was not in the leaft difquieted about them; be-  
 caufe, in his eyes, the multitude was like a tor-  
 rent, the courfe of which he knew how to direct  
 which way he would.

PERFECTLY indifferent with regard to fortune,  
 he was ftill more fo with regard to power. His  
 fuccelfes had made his adminiftration abfolute.  
 With the people he was a republican, with the no-  
 bles

**B O O K** <sup>x</sup>bles and the sovereign, he was a despotic minister. To think differently from him, was a mark of being an enemy to the common cause.

He availed himself of the superiority he had gained, in order to excite the ardour of the people. Little influenced by that species of philosophy, which, divesting itself of the prejudices of national glory, to extend it's views to the welfare of all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of universal reason; he kept up a violent and savage spirit of enthusiasm, which he called, and, perhaps, believed to be a love of his country; but which was, in reality, nothing more than a strong aversion for the nation he wanted to oppress.

FRANCE was perhaps as much discouraged by this spirit of inveteracy, that constantly pursued her, as by the distresses she had undergone. The diminution, the exhausted state, or, to say the truth, the total ruin of her naval powers, afforded her a discouraging prospect for the future. The expectation that a fortunate success by land might occasion a change in the face of affairs, was merely imaginary. If one of their squadrons had destroyed one or several of those of her rival, the English would not have renounced any of their claims. This is one general rule; and another is, that whenever any power hath acquired a very determined superiority at sea, it can never lose it in the course of the war; more particularly, if that superiority can be traced from a distant cause, and especially if it proceed partly from the character of the nation. The superiority of one continent above another depends entirely on the abilities of a single man, and may be lost in a moment; on the contrary, superiority at sea, as it results from the vigilance and interest of each individual in the state, must always increase, particularly when it is encouraged by national constitution:



constitution a sudden invasion can only put a <sup>BOOK</sup>  
stop to it

NOTHING but a general confederacy could have restored the balance of power, the impossibility of which Mr Pitt plainly saw. He knew the restraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Russians, and the little regard that several of these powers paid to the interests of France. He was conscious also of the terror which the English forces had spread among them all, the mistrust they entertained of each other, and the apprehension that each of them must have, that they should be distressed before they could receive assistance.

THE affairs of Spain were particularly circumstanced. The ravages that laid waste the French colonies, and which every day increased, might easily extend to the settlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be sensible of the danger that threatened it, its usual indolence accompanied it with regard to these great objects. At length, upon a change of minister, a new system took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to extinguish the flame, but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous haughtiness. Mr Pitt, having deliberately considered the extent of his power, answered every proposal that was made, in the following manner. *I will listen to them, said he, when you have taken the tower of London sword in hand.* This mode of expression might disgust, but it was imposing.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when the court of France thought herself obliged to make overtures of peace to that of Great Britain. Both courts were equally apprehensive, and with good reason, that Mr Pitt would oppose them. He  
consented

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consented to enter into a negociation; but the event shewed, as sensible politicians had conjectured, that his intention was not to continue it. His design was only to furnish himself with sufficient proofs of the engagements that the two branches of the house of Bourbon had entered into against Great Britain, that he might make them evident to his country. As soon as he had gained this intelligence, he broke off the negociation, and proposed declaring war against Spain. The superiority of the naval power of England above that of both these kingdoms, and the assurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inspired him with this confidence.

MR. PITT's system appeared, to distinguished politicians, the only important, and indeed, the only reasonable one. The English nation had contracted such a load of debt, that it could neither free itself from it, nor support it, without opening to itself new sources of wealth. Europe, tired out with the grievances Great Britain had made her submit to, waited impatiently for an opportunity to disable her oppressor from continuing them. The house of Bourbon could not but preserve a strong resentment for the injuries it had suffered, and for the losses it had sustained; it could not but make secret preparations, and gradually work up a spirit of revenge to which a combination of all its forces might insure success. These motives obliged Great Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandize itself for its support. This cruel necessity was not so sensibly felt by the council of George the Third as Mr. Pitt desired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weakness or of insatiation, perhaps of treachery; and he resigned his post, because he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

MAY we venture to form a conjecture? The English ministry plainly saw that there was no possibility of avoiding a fresh war, but equally tired out and disgraced by the power Mr. Pitt had assumed, they were desirous of restoring that spirit of equality which is the spring of a republican government. Despairing of being able to raise themselves to a level with a man so highly esteemed, or of making him stoop to them, they united their forces to effect his ruin. As open attacks would only have turned against themselves, they had recourse to more artful methods. They attempted to sour his temper, the natural fire of his character laid him open to such a snare, and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt resigned his post through peevishness, he deserves to be censured for not having suppressed or mastered it. If he hoped by this expedient to humble his enemies, he shewed he had greater knowledge of affairs than of men. If, as he asserted, he resigned, because he would no longer be responsible for the measures he did not guide, we may be allowed to think that he was more strongly attached to his own personal glory, than to the interests of his country. But whatever may have been the cause of his resignation, nothing but the blindest, most unjust, and most violent partiality can venture to assert, that his virtues and abilities were merely the effect of chance.

HOWEVER this may be, the first step the new ministry took, was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt, and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought necessary to declare war against Spain, and the West Indies were to be the scene of these new hostilities. Experience had already discouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards

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THE siege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The soldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with barrels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged for sacks of cotton, that were taken out of some merchant-ships arrived from Jamaica. This want of foresight occasioned the loss of a great number of men, always of great value, but more especially so in a climate, where diseases and fatigues cause so great a consumption of them.

THE English general, having lost the greatest part of his army, and finding the necessity, for want of troops, of reembarking in a few days, determined to attempt storming the castle; but a large and deep ditch, cut in the rock, was first to be passed; and no preparations had been made to fill it up.

IF the faults of the English were very considerable, those of the Spaniards were still greater. Though apprized above a month before, that war had commenced between the two nations, they were not roused from their lethargy. The enemy was already upon their coasts, and they had made no provisions of balls of a proper size for their cannons, nor of cartridges, neither had they one single gun, or even a firelock fit to make use of.

THE great number of officers, of the land and sea service, who were at the Havannah, occasioned, during some days of the siege, a great uncertainty in the resolutions, that could not but be favourable to the besiegers.

THREE ships of war were sunk, to stop up the entrance into the port, which the enemy could not pass. The road into the harbour was by this means damaged, and three great ships lost to no purpose.

THE most common prudence would have suggested, that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah should have been got ready to sail. They could not possibly be of any service in defending the place, and it was a matter of some consequence to save them. But this was neglected. Neither did the precaution occur of setting them on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The destruction of the body of English troops posted at Arosteguy, where they could not receive any assistance, might have been easily effected. This check would have put the besiegers to some difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their operations, and inspired the Spanish forces with some degree of confidence. But, far from making so easy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the English detachments, though composed entirely of infantry, and which might have been opposed by a regiment of dragoons, and a great number of militia, that were provided with horses.

THE communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was scarce ever interrupted, and yet none of those who had a share in the administration, ever thought of conveying the royal treasure into the inland parts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy.

THE last instance of neglect served to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been left a piece of rock, terminating in a point, and standing by itself. The English placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterscarp. A sergeant, with fifteen men, passed over them at one in the afternoon; and concealed themselves among some  
floats

BOOK X Cuba Men of sense and understanding perceived that the taking of this island would not be attended with any apprehension of vengeance from the other colonies; that the empire of the Gulph of Mexico would be secured, that the enemy, whose riches arose principally from the amount of it's customs, would be deprived of all their resources, that the whole commerce of the continent would be seized upon, and the inhabitants would chuse rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than to give up those commodities they had been used to receive from Europe, in a word, that the power of Spain would be so much reduced by this considerable loss, that it would be obliged to submit to any terms

AGREEABLE to this idea, a fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about a hundred and fifty transports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North America, set sail for the Havannah To arrive at this formidable place, it was determined to pass through the old streight of Bahama, not so long in extent, though more dangerous, than the new one The obstacles that were to be expected in this passage little known, and too little attended to, were successfully surmounted, in a manner worthy the reputation that admiral Pocock had acquired On the 6th of July he arrived at the place of his destination, and the landing of the troops was effected without any opposition, at the distance of six leagues eastward of those dreadful fortifications that were to be taken

THE operations by land, were not so well conducted as those by sea If Alb-marle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commission he was intrusted with,

with, he would have begun his attack by the city. BOOK X.  
 The single dry wall that covered it, could not have holden out four-and twenty hours. ' It is probable, that the generals, the council, and the regency, who must infallibly have fallen into his hands by this success, which might so easily have been obtained, ' would have resolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would thus have prevented the fort from receiving any assistance or provisions that were supplied from the city during the siege, and have secured the most likely means to reduce it in a very short time.

THE plan he pursued, of beginning his operations by the attack of the Moro, exposed him to great distresses. The water that was near him was unwholesome, and he found himself under a necessity of procuring some at three leagues distance from his camp. As the sloops that were sent for this purpose might be attacked, it was thought necessary to post a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Arosteguy, at a quarter of a league's distance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops, entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdrawn, or supported but by sea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

ALBEMARLE, who might have judged of the disposition of the enemy from their not molesting the troops posted at Arosteguy, should have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this step he would have been able almost to surround it; he would, most undoubtedly, have distressed it by famine, prevented all removal of the effects into the country, and opened a less dangerous communication with Arosteguy, than by the detachments he was constantly obliged to send, in order to support this advanced body of troops.

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X

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B O O K stones that had fallen down. They were followed  
 X. by a company of grenadiers and some soldiers.  
 When they had collected about a hundred men, in the space of an hour, they got upon the breach, under no apprehension of being discovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Velasco, indeed, informed of what had happened, hastened to save the place, but he was killed in coming up, and his death putting the Spanish troops that followed him into confusion, they surrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a sentinel to observe the motions of the enemy lodged upon the ditch, determined this great event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into, for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole island. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itself, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five millions \* of silver, and other valuable effects, which fully indemnified them for the expences of the expedition.

Advantages procured to Great Britain in the islands by the peace.

THE loss of Cuba, the center of the power of Spain in the New World, made peace as necessary to the court of Madrid, as it could possibly be to that of Versailles, whose distresses were now brought to the highest pitch. The English ministry, at that time, consented to a peace; but it seemed a matter of much difficulty to settle the conditions. The successes of Great Britain had been astonishing in North and South America. But, however ambitious she might be, she could not flatter herself with the hopes of retaining all the conquests she had made. It was reasonable to suppose that she would give up the possessions she had gained in North America, as the advantages she might expect from them were distant, inconsiderable, and uncertain; and that she would

be content with reserving to herself the sugar colonies she had lately acquired, which the state of her finances seemed more particularly to require. The increase of her customs, that was a necessary consequence of such a system, would have procured her the best sinking fund that could have been imagined, and which must have been so much the more agreeable to the nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others very considerable. It would, in the first place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable, notwithstanding the faults it had committed, of it's richest branch of trade. Secondly, it would have contributed to weaken it, from it's being under a necessity of defending Canada; a colony, which, from the nature of it's situation, must be detrimental to a nation that had long neglected it's navy. Lastly, it would have kept New England in a closer and more absolute dependence on the mother-country, a part of America that would always want to be supported against a restless, active, and warlike neighbour.

BUT though the council of George III should have thought it necessary to restore to their enemies a bad country of the continent, and to reserve the valuable islands, yet they would not, perhaps, have ventured to adopt so judicious a measure. In other countries the faults of the ministers are imputed only to themselves, or to their kings, who punish them for their misconduct. In England, the errors of administration are generally the errors of the nation, who insist upon obedience to their will, though guided by caprice.

THE English, who have complained of the terms of the last peace, when they have been shewn how far short they fell of the advantages they expected from them, had, however, in some measure, dictated

BOOK X. dictated those very terms themselves by the tenor of their complaints, either previous to, or during the war. The Canadians had committed some outrages, and the savages many acts of cruelty in the English colonies. The peaceable inhabitants, terrified at the distresses they suffered, and more so at those they feared, had caused their clamours to be heard even in Europe. Their correspondents, interested to obtain them a speedy and powerful redress, had aggravated their complaints. Those writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumstance that can render the French odious, had loaded them with every species of invective. The people, exasperated by the report of the shocking scenes that were perpetually presented to it's imagination, wished to see a stop put to these barbarities.

ON the other hand, the inhabitants of the sugar colonies, satisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce, and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wishing the conquest of their neighbour's settlements, they rather dreaded it, considering it as destructive to themselves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are so much superior to those of the English, that no competition could possibly have taken place. Their allies were of the same opinion, and followed the example of their moderation.

THE consequence of so contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the sugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. Let us represent to ourselves the situation of an enlightened man, who is convinced of the advantages of a project, which he is compelled to give up, by the mistaken notions of a deceived multitude, in order to adopt, in preference to it, some absurd

absurd schemes contrary to the general good, which will dishonour him if he should pursue them, or, which will expose him to danger, if he should refuse: let us represent him to ourselves, as employed by a sovereign, who will dismiss him, if his rebellious subjects should insist upon it, and who cannot afford him any protection, if they should carry their fury so far as to demand his life. let us view him divided, as he must be, between the mistaken vanity which attaches him to his post, and the laudable pride which makes him careful to preserve his reputation. let us behold him alone, retired in his closet, and deliberating upon the steps he should take, amidst the tumult and clamours of the populace, collected round his house, and threatening to set it on fire. for such is the alternative, which hath been experienced, and will always be experienced by those who guide the public affairs of a free country. There is scarce one single situation in the world, in which a propriety of conduct is not attended with inconveniences on both sides. It is the property of real courage to adapt itself to those several circumstances and situations, whatever may be the result, but such kind of courage is not often to be met with.

THE ministry, which, in England, can never support it's authority against the people, or, at least, cannot long maintain itself successfully against it's general odium, turned all their views towards North America, and found France and Spain readily disposed to adopt such a system. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the English all their former possessions, from the river St Lawrence up to the Mississippi. Beside this, France ceded the islands of Granada and Tobago, and consented that the English should keep the islands of St Vincent and Dominica, that had been considered as neutral, provided that, on her part, she



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The British ministry did not extend their views as far as the situation of things permitted.

might appropriate St. Lucia to herself. On these conditions, the conquerors restored to the allied powers all the conquests they had made in America.

FROM this time England lost the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of seizing all the avenues and making itself master of the sources of all the wealth of the New World. Mexico was in it's power, as the English only were in possession of the gulph that opens the way to it; this valuable continent must, therefore, soon have become their property. It might have been allured, either by the offers of an easier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: the Spaniards might have been invited to shake off the yoke of the mother-country, which only took up arms to distress it's colonies, and not to protect them; or the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enslaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and the English, more free and more equitable than other monarchical powers, could not but be benefited by rescuing the human race from the oppressions they suffered in the New World, and by removing the injuries this oppression hath brought on Europe in particular.

ALL those subjects, who are victims of the severity, exactions, oppression, and deceit of arbitrary governments; all those families that are ruined by the raising of soldiers, by the ravages of armies, by the loans for carrying on war, and by the infractions of peace; all men born to think and live as men, instead of obeying and becoming subject like brutes, would have gladly taken refuge in those countries. These, as well as a multitude of workmen without employment; of husbandmen without land; of men of science without any occupation; and numbers of distressed and unfortunate

nate persons, would have flown into these regions, BOOK  
X. which require only just and civilized inhabitants to render them happy. Above all, the peasants of the north, slaves to the nobility, who trample upon them, would certainly have been invited there: those Russian peasants, who are employed as executioners to torture the human race, instead of cultivating and fertilizing the earth. Numbers of them would certainly have been lost in these trans-migrations through extensive seas, into new climates; but this would have been an infinitely less evil than that of a tyranny, working by slow and artful means, and sacrificing so many people to the wills of a small number of men. In a word, the English would have been much more gloriously employed in supporting and favouring so happy a revolution, than in tormenting themselves in defence of a liberty, that excites the envy of all kings, and which they endeavour, by every method, to undermine and destroy.

THIS is a wish which, though founded on justice and humanity, is yet, alas! vain in itself, as it leaves nothing but regret in the mind of him that formed it. Must then the desires of the virtuous man for the prosperity of the world be for ever lost, while those of the ambitious and the extravagant are so often favoured by casual events?

SINCE war hath been the cause of so much evil, why does it not run through every species of calamity, that it may, at length, tend to procure some good? But what hath been the consequence of the last war, one of those that hath been the most distressful to the human race? It hath occasioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe; and hath cost Europe alone above a million of it's inhabitants. Those who were not it's victims, are now distressed by it, and their posterity will long be oppressed under the weight of the

**B O O K** the enormous taxes it hath given rise to. Tl  
 X. nation, whom victory attended in all parts, w  
 ruined by it's triumphs. It's public debt, whic  
 at the beginning of the war, did not excee  
 1,617,087,060 livres\*, arose, at the conclusio  
 of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres†, fo  
 which it must pay an interest of 111,577,49  
 livres‡.

But it is time to quit the subject of war. Let  
 us now proceed to consider by what means the na  
 tions, who have divided the great Archipelago o  
 America, that hath been the origin of so man  
 quarrels and negociations, and hath given rise t  
 so many reflections, have been able to raise it to  
 degree of opulence, that may, without exagger  
 ration, be considered as the first cause of all th  
 great events that at present disturb the peace of th  
 globe.

\* 67,378,627l. 10s.

‡ 4,649,062l. 18. 8d.

† 138,750,000l.